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***Reports on Political Prisoners and
Prison Conditions***

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Near East & South Asia

Morocco:

Reports on Political Prisoners and Prison Conditions

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Prison Conditions Nationwide Investigated

Human Rights Official Interviewed

92AF1221A Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI
in Arabic 15 Aug 92 p 3

[Interview With Abdelaziz Bennani, official of Moroccan Human Rights Defense Organization; place and date not given]

[Text]

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] Before we touch on the conditions of jails and the situation of female prisoners, in particular, can you clarify for the readers some of the particulars connected with the trials of women, if Moroccan legislation contains anything to confirm such particularity?

[Bennani] The general principle is not to make a distinction between men and women in the legal proceedings connected with trial by the deterrent judiciary, regardless of the nature and seriousness of the crime committed. Moreover, men and women are equal in principle as far as the definition of crime and the penalties applied for crimes are concerned.

But there are regrettable exceptions that embody the discrimination observed in some provisions of the civil and commercial law, particularly in the body of personal statutes.

Regarding the criminal code, women continue to be among those denied the exercise of their civil rights even though they enjoy no privileges where the penal code is concerned.

Thus, if a married woman is the victim of a crime committed by her husband, such as being beaten or wounded by the husband, and if she wishes to demand reparations before the judiciary, the law (Article 336) states that "she shall obtain a permit for the purpose from the court at which the lawsuit is filed." Although this permit is usually granted, the law makes it possible to deny it.

Regarding the criminal law, there is serious and unacceptable bias that favors the husband if he beats or kills his wife and her partner if he catches them committing adultery.

In this case, the law allows only the husband an excuse mitigating the penalty. But if the roles are reversed, if the husband is caught in the act of adultery, a wife who commits a criminal act against such a husband is treated as an ordinary criminal and does not have the benefit of any excuse.

As for the application of penalties, there are rules that do in fact protect a fetus or a nursing baby. But these are not privileges for the woman herself. A prison term is not carried out against a pregnant woman until 40 days after she delivers a baby.

Moreover, a jail sentence will not be carried out against a woman who has given birth less than 40 days before the sentence is issued until the said grace period has lapsed.

Finally, the same grace period must be observed in executing a death sentence against a pregnant woman. This case was brought up in a theoretical debate. It is fortunate that no death sentence has been issued, to my knowledge, against a woman in Morocco and no such sentence has been carried against a woman.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] Do you have any comment or observations on these particulars?

[Bennani] It is certain that to view a woman as a human being lacking eligibility if she seeks to demand reparations for an attack committed against her by her husband is an absolutely unacceptable act of discrimination and is incompatible with Morocco's pledges on human rights. This discrimination can find no justification in the shari'ah [Islamic canonical law].

As for allowing the husband exclusively, and not the wife, an excuse that mitigates the penalty is another act of discrimination that favors men. It is an act of discrimination that concerns not just civil rights, but also women's and men's status in case of the commission of a crime.

This law reflects a strange understanding of adultery, which is confined to women exclusively. This is incompatible with the stipulations of Islamic jurisprudence, on the one hand, and with the equality of men and women before the criminal law itself when the crime of adultery is involved.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] What about the issue of jails in Morocco and what are the difficulties that impede discussion about this problem, this is: What are the problems that have been raised about the status of prisoners, whether in terms of legislation and general legal provisions or in terms of the real situation?

[Bennani] The condition of Morocco's jails is not just a problem, but a legally complex dilemma, as well as a dilemma in terms of the actual situation.

Legally, our lagging behind in the area of respect for human rights is made most evident in the fact that the legal provisions that are still in force 37 years after independence are the April 1915 Decree and the June 1930 Decree. These two decrees make a distinction between the rights of an indigenous prisoner and a European prisoner to clothing, shaving, and bathing. They also provide for harsh physical punishment that is incompatible with the UN civil and human rights charter, which Morocco approved.

This legislation is an indivisible part of the colonialist legislation (the same as the 1935 Decree, which concerns whatever pertains to undermining public order), and it is not understandable how such legislation is maintained in

a country whose officials emphasize their loyalty to human rights and their enactment of the international law governing these rights!

What is surprising is that the provisions of this law, its flaws notwithstanding, have become no more than ink on paper, especially in connection with the separation of convicted prisoners and detainees, preventive health measures, treatment of the sick, and so forth.

This bitter reality, about which the outside world knows very little, is a consequence of the problem of overcrowding. A report submitted by a committee of the Human Rights Advisory Council estimates the number of prisoners at nearly tenfold the prisons' absorption capacity. This condition reflects, naturally, on the life of the male and female prisoner, who finds it difficult to get even enough sleeping space, who experience moral and physical torture, and who live under conditions incompatible with the simplest requirements of human dignity.

There is no doubt that the construction of the Sale and Akacha prisons in Rabat has brought about relative improvement in the prisoners' situation. But the other prisons continue to be unchanged.

According to some semiofficial reports, the Ministry of Justice has had rural land at its disposal for several years, but it has not been able to implement [jail] construction and furnishing projects due to a lack of appropriations. It is well known that the Ministry of Justice is viewed as one of the government's poor "relatives" where the policy of reducing government spending in the social areas is concerned.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] The Unionist [Socialist Union] opposition in the House of Representatives has submitted a bill of which you are undoubtedly aware. Don't you think that freezing this bill seeks to maintain the current conditions of prisons and prisoners as they are?

[Bennani] It is true that the Unionist [Socialist Union] group and some other opposition factions have submitted some partial proposals concerning individual and collective liberties. But they have all encountered the same fate, namely they have been shelved.

It is worth noting that the Ministry of Justice agencies drafted a prisons bill a long time ago. But this bill has continued to be shelved, it seems, at the Government General Bureau. Any real reform dictates broad participation by the civil society's components concerned, especially lawyers organizations and human rights defense organizations.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] Are there control and watchdog committees concerned with guaranteeing the prisoners' rights? Who are their members, and what are their tasks?

[Bennani] There is, first, the Administrative Inspection Bureau, which is stipulated by the prisons law and about which we know nothing because of a lack of dialogue

with the organizations concerned with human rights. Moreover, the penal code provides for a periodic inspection to be conducted every three months by the king's representative and an examining magistrate. The Examining Magistrate's Bureau has experienced a serious diminution of its powers since the special September 1974 Decree, which contains transitional (!) provisions. Moreover, the bureau operates within a narrow scope, within which the prosecution authority has gained broad powers.

As for inspection by the king's representative, it is purely theoretical, and it has been conducted in a very few and exceptional cases that can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In any case, such inspections, when conducted, do not have an impact on the prisoners' conditions.

Since it was promulgated on 10 February 1959, i.e. nearly 33 years ago, the criminal code has, theoretically, provided for an ideal institution, namely provincial control committees. In every province or prefecture, there must exist by law a committee whose task is to "ensure the availability of the means of health, security, and protection from disease, to attend to the prisoners' nutrition system and to their ordinary living conditions, to help reeducate the prisoners morally and merge them socially, and to put them in the right place when they are released."

According to the law, this committee must include the governor or whomever he deputizes, assisted by the lower court president, the king's representative at the court, and the provincial medical officer or his representative. The committee must also include voluntary members appointed by the minister of justice from among "notables known for their concern for the fate of the convicted."

This committee is entitled to visit prisons, to submit its observations and criticism to the minister of justice, and to point out the various kinds of excesses that must be stopped and improvements that must be made. It is also entitled to submit recommendations to pardon deserving detainees.

The provision calling for this institution is a positive provision for several reasons, including the following:

- The formation of the committee from representatives of the local authorities concerned and of interested notables opens the door for indirect participation by concerned organizations, such as lawyers organizations and strugglers for human rights.
- The means made available to the committee, including visitation and the possibility of checking the prisoners' conditions, informing the executive authority of the actual conditions, and making proposals to solve the existing problems.
- Breaking the wall that separates the world of misery in which the prisoners live and the outside world, i.e., public opinion.

But this institution has never seen the light since it was created.

We should note in this regard that the government agreed in principle late in the summer of 1989 to revive this institution in wake of the hunger strikes staged by political detainees and of the dialogue started with representatives of the human rights organizations.

However, the public authorities suspended this dialogue suddenly. The failure to create this institution in the provinces, despite its importance and the positive role that it could perform, provides an example of the gap that often exists between law and application in our country. This gap creates the problem of lack of application of the legal rule in numerous cases, especially in the area of liberties and human rights.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] Can you explain to us the efforts made by the Moroccan Human Rights Organization to improve the conditions of prisons and of prisoners?

[Bennani] During the one and only contact between the minister of Justice and representatives of the Moroccan Human Rights Organization in January 1989, an official request was submitted to permit the organization to visit prisons because the institutions concerned have not performed their task in this regard. This request was renewed repeatedly, but to no avail.

Thus, silence continued to engulf the state wards, keeping in mind that political prisoners, both men and women, had been able to present their problems directly or through humanitarian organizations, including the Moroccan Human Rights Organization, and had made some gains.

But many of the prisoners themselves continue to experience the numerous problems noted in a significant number of communiques.

It can be said that lack of the dialogue that our organization has demanded repeatedly leads to continuing the tragic condition of the majority of our prisoners. Even though a committee was formed by the Human Rights Advisory Council, visited some jails, and submitted a report on the issue, the question continues to exist regarding the fate of these proposals.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] Have humanitarian organizations, concerned international circles, or the foreign press visited Moroccan prisons or touched on this issue?

[Bennani] In wake of the political detainees' hunger strikes, some visits were actually made by a number of foreign notables and representatives of international humanitarian organizations.

When these visits were scheduled, the prisons saw the mobilization of significant resources to restore them in an attempt to give a good impression of the prisoners' conditions.

Even though we do not dispute the legitimacy and benefit of the preoccupation of some international humanitarian organizations with the prisoners' issue, I believe that permitting these organizations to visit the prisons while denying national humanitarian organizations the same permission is something painful that needs no further comment.

However, detention conditions in prison institutions will know no fundamental improvement unless a just law is established and unless guaranties are secured to ensure its application. This requires creation of the control committee stipulated by the legislator on the morrow of independence as part of the criminal code. It also requires permitting humanitarian national associations to perform their role and, lastly, requires the state to make the appropriations that enable prisoners to enjoy their basic rights.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] There is no doubt that within the context of your law practice and your shouldering a responsibility in the Human Rights Defense Committee, you have obtained some information regarding the conditions of women prisoners, in particular.

[Bennani] All of the bits of information that have been leaked to us indicate the presence of difficult problems in all areas for both male and female prisoners.

Part of this information is that overcrowding leads to failure to separate prisoners and to observe the necessary procedures in the areas of sanitation, protection from diseases, and medical care, for example.

According to information imparted by a veteran political detainee, small children who accompany their detained mothers live under harsh conditions that are incompatible with the simplest principles of child care.

But it is not possible to know the truth, with all its given facts and its bitterness, because there is no legal control over the conditions under which male and female prisoners live and because the door has been shut in the face of the national humanitarian organizations.

It is hoped that the legitimate struggle will be strengthened and expanded in order to enhance all human rights, including the rights of male and female prisoners, in the law and in practice. [end Bennani]

Life in Women's Prisons

92AF1221B Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI
in Arabic 15 Aug 92 p 4

[File compiled by Najah Batal]

[Text] Reports submitted and symposiums organized by international circles and organizations concerned with human rights in Morocco and by national, even international, progressive and democratic forces emphasize that current conditions in Moroccan prisons are worsening

rapidly at all material, human, technical, and administrative levels, thus exerting a major negative impact on guarantees that prisoners must enjoy and on the main role of prisons as reform institutions.

The reasons for this intensifying deterioration are the small budget of the Ministry of Justice and the government's vision of prisons as institutions that drain the state and exhaust fiscal appropriations without producing any yield. Thus, from this perspective, these institutions produce no yield and need not, therefore, be repaired, restored, or enlarged. Most Moroccan prisons currently in use were built more than 70 years ago, i.e., they date back to the protectorate era. The restoration and repairs undergone by prisons have not created the necessary conditions to make them habitable. The various wards and cells lack necessary ventilation, adequate natural lighting, and yards spacious enough for walks and for athletic exercises, excluding some new prisons that were opened recently, such as the prisons in Safi, Tangier, Khenifra, and the prison complex in Sale and Casablanca.

In recent years, the Ministry of Justice has introduced some reforms into prisons. Yet, real prison conditions are still a shock to everybody. These prison conditions reflect our country's worsening conditions, whether in terms of overcrowding, the lack of separation and distribution, mistreatment and malnutrition, poor medical care and sanitation, and the lack of education and vocational training or in terms of social relations.

Through this file, we will try to acquaint ourselves with the conditions of female prisoners and their daily life inside these institutions, to live with their hardship, even if only for a few hours, to find out what impact this hardship leaves on their souls, and to search for the circumstances that pushed them to this bitter reality.

As a social institution, a prison cannot be separated from society and its class structure. Consequently, a prison encompasses individuals who belong to the oppressed and devastated classes and groups. This is why there emerges in prison a pecking order that reflects similar groups and factions existing in society. Within this context, the female-prisoner society can be divided according to either the prisoners' role in prison or their status in it.

On the basis of the first division, we find that prisoners are split into two types: There is, first, the type of women prisoners who perform a role complementary and auxiliary to that of female prison employees. In prison lingo, these prisoners are called the "prefects" [kabranat, singular kabranah]. There are then the prisoners who form the prefect's coterie, and then there are the rest of the female prisoners who constitute the prison world.

A prefect is often a prisoner sentenced to a long term for a crime such as murder, for example. She is appointed by the administration or by the guard either due to her past experience or to her ruthless and oppressive nature and her ability to blackmail prisoners in the interest of

female guards and employees. A prefect's duty is to attend to the cleanliness of a cell and to guard the belongings of its residents. She also watches over law and order in the cell and reports what happens within the cell, especially during lockup times. But a prefect may go beyond to exercise some sort of authority over other female prisoners, relying on a coterie of prisoners who are professional criminals and perverts who share with a prefect the protection money she levies on prisoners. The members of such a coterie enjoy numerous privileges, such as getting comfortable places inside overcrowded cells, appropriating the belongings of other prisoners, without any protest on the part of the latter, and enjoying the trust of the guards.

As for the condition of other prisoners in the cell and their relations with the guards, the minimum and maximum limits of these conditions and relations are set solely by the prefect. Thus, the prefect puts a prisoner on the scale of a balance, raising and lowering her according to how pleased or angry she is with her. So the prisoner's rights and belongings are lost if the prefect gets angry, and the prisoner's position is strengthened and her belongings and her spot in the cell are maintained if the prefect is pleased with her. Thus, prisoners are forced to buy the prefect's satisfaction with hard currency, which has become cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, and even with drugs in jail. Everything can be had in jail with a roll [tadwirah, possibly a rolled cigarette].

An ordinary prisoner, a woman in her 60's, has recounted her experience in jail and her relations with the prefect in charge of the cell in which she resided. This woman said: "I was jailed in (Arhbila) Prison in 1989 because of a dispute with my landlord, who made a complaint against me, accusing me of causing him ill health by practicing magic. I was summoned to a police station, arrested, and transferred to prison where I spent a full month before I was found not guilty. During my detention, I was placed in a cell with a group of women ranging in age from 18 to 60 years, some not convicted and some convicted and sentenced to various prison terms. Some had been in jail unjustly for the first time; some were recidivists who had become accustomed to prison life, and some had been in jail for years, with many more years waiting ahead. They included thieves, murderers, prostitutes, [word indistinct], drunks, people who had fought with neighbors, and adultresses. Relations between us were difficult, and understanding was hard. The only thing that made things easier was the bribe given to the prefect to protect us from her own tyranny and the oppression of strong or dominant prisoners who had become accustomed to jail, who were sentenced to long prison terms, and who did not care if their sentence was increased one month or one year. I was, of course, a weak woman by virtue of my old age. So to ensure my rights and my safety, I began to practice my profession there. I was helped by the idle time from which we all suffered. After that, I lived like a 'boss' in jail, with everybody serving me and seeking my pleasure, even the prefect and the guard herself, who brought me

the cards. I used the cards to 'read the fortune' of the guards, prefects, and prisoners in return for cans of sardines or milk, eggs, olives, sugar, cooking fat, or cigarettes. I set my fees according to a prisoner's condition and her relations with me. Thus, I was the dynamo, and I lacked nothing. At times, even the prefect herself operated as my manager, setting the client's turn and determining how the fee would be collected. I shared my income with the prefect and the guard and lived under the protection of the prefect, who told me once: 'Let me be with you. Share with me, and you cannot imagine in what comfort you will live. Your clothes will be washed for you, your bed made for you, and your needs will be attended to.'

"This is, in fact, what happened. What is funny is that I went to jail because of the magic, which then saved me from the evil of the jail residents."

As for the second point, i.e., the prisoner's status in jail, prisoners can be divided into two distinct groups: The group of well-to-do or educated prisoners who hold a prominent place in the prison institution and who often gain this status through their status outside this institution. This status is determined precisely by the money, provisions, and aid they receive from their families and their friends. Often, these prisoners are jailed because of fraud, swindling, embezzlement, or counterfeiting. (This group also includes political detainees, who are often employees or women with high education). With their material and moral position and with their influence that they derive from their status outside prison, this group of prisoners can enjoy a special status and gain numerous privileges, such as good accommodations, numerous direct weekly visits, medical care inside and outside jail, adequate warm showers, and respect from the female employees. According to what is circulated in prisons, these prisoners are ones who have bought their imprisonment, meaning that they pay a good price for serving their terms under better conditions than other female prisoners.

There is then the group of ordinary prisoners who come from underprivileged social origins and who are jailed for corruption [prostitution], assaulting or wounding others, fighting with neighbors, or theft. Most of these prisoners are destitute. They receive no provisions or food from their families to enable them to buy the guards' pleasure or to ensure the prefect's protection and get privileges in the cells.

In this class-oriented and favorite-playing situation, under the umbrella of the equation of strength and weakness, and even of beauty and ugliness, a female prisoner begins to adapt to prison conditions and to the other prisoners residing with her in the same cell. She begins organizing her life amidst this maelstrom of contradictions and conflicts. She struggles to alleviate the tension imposed on her by the conditions of living with various groups and types of professional criminals, beginning criminals, and others and of conflicting emotions ignited within her by her memories of life outside

jail. Thus, every female prisoner seeks a place for herself within this prison society. Her status is determined by her physical or intellectual strength, her wit or disagreeableness, the strength or weakness of her personality, or her educational or social level. Some of them become introverts and try to live isolated from the prisoners' society. This type is characterized by a weak personality and by obedience, capitulation, and negativism, considering that such prisoners act according to orders and demands and are often subjected to the harassment and oppression of the prefects and of professional criminals. Their place is in the meanest, lowest, ugliest, and most repugnant place in the cell, either close to the lavatory or in the center of the cell. Such a prisoner is assigned by the prefect to make her bed and the beds of those close to her, to put their belongings in order, and even to wash their clothes. A former (ordinary) prisoner notes: "If one is weak, easily scared, or inexperienced with the world outside her home, then all the prisoners, especially the prefect, prisoners sentenced to long prison terms, and recidivists, will exploit and pressure her to serve them and fulfill their needs. The prefect assigns such prisoners to wash her clothes and the clothes of her close associates. Thus, they are tantamount to obedient servants. At times, a prefect will order such a prisoner to massage her body so she can relax, to comb her hair, or to groom her and pick lice out of her hair."

The prefect and those close to her perform the role of informers in the cells, and they always express their willingness to serve and assist the female guard. They report and inform on the female prisoners and blackmail them in the interest of the guard. The prefect and her close associates also help to suppress and torture prisoners and to entrench the spirit of obedience and subservience among them.

This prisoner goes on to point out that "if one is not a prefect and is not strong or if she is ugly and timid," then she and her rights are lost and all her belongings are stolen. She has no rights in the cell, and she is the first to rise and the last to go to sleep in the most contemptible place. Everybody tyrannizes such a prisoner, beginning with the prefect and those under her control and ending with ordinary prisoners. Everybody tries to use such a prisoner to vent their repressed feelings, their hatred, and their wrath. Such a prisoner's place is near the lavatory or in the center of a cell. Every cellmate steps over such a prisoner on her way to the lavatory and on her way back...."

From the above information, we notice that prison imposes itself on a prisoner physically, not just by its organization and by the way it determines the place and the time one has to spend in a certain cell with certain individuals and the manner in which one can move within a cell or a prison at given hours and for certain periods of time, but also through its control and codification of the conditions and bounds that affect the existence of such a prisoner, whether in terms of her personality, her psyche, or her health.

The daily practices in prison have a negative impact on the prisoner's psyche and on her behavior. She modifies her perception of herself, her personality, and her society. Prison puts the emphasis on the values of individualism, selfishness, opportunism, and "suppression." Moreover, numerous social maladies, such as sexual perversion, proliferate in prison and become normal behavioral patterns.

If all agree that a prison's task is to reform and rehabilitate, at least theoretically, then the miserable reality which prisons and prisoners experience turns the prison into an institution that reproduces delinquency and criminality. Numerous criminologists, social researchers, and psychologists consider the prison institution a school for teaching crime and mastering criminal arts. In prison, a female prisoner (or, by the same token, a male prisoner) can learn the arts of theft and robbery and of joining networks comprised of professional female criminals. Good and careful plans are made for future crimes [by released criminals]. Moreover, female prisoners are assigned to certain theft, robbery, pickpocketing, and prostitution networks outside prison.

Let us take as an example the case of Zobeida, who was jailed for the first time when she was 16 because of her presence in a whorehouse. She spent two months in jail and then went directly to a beach hotel, where she lost her virginity. She has said, "prison is like an '(employment) bureau' from which a female prisoner proceeds to a given address, depending on the veteran prisoners' instructions and recommendations. If she is jailed for prostitution, she joins prostitution networks. If she is jailed for theft, she joins gangs specialized in this area."

In jail, the commission of crime becomes something of which to boast, and the artful and deceptive denial of the commission of a crime becomes proof of intelligence and experience. The more devious and stronger female prisoners dominate prisoners with weaker character and will train them for new crimes that are planned better and are less prone to mistakes. Thus, a prisoner pushed by the circumstances and by numerous other elements on the path of crime finds the right conditions to master crime when she enters jail for the first time. The older, more experienced, and more skillful prisoners take charge of acquainting her with the secrets and details of crime and delinquency. Thus by the time she comes out of jail, she is a fully experienced and sophisticated criminal who has a stronger belief in crime and delinquency and to whom they have become an ordinary way of life and a means of earning a livelihood, of survival, and even of self-affirmation. What is more, there are veteran criminals or prostitutes who connect a beginning prisoner with prostitution networks outside the jail and who send out instructions to receive this beginner and to fuse her into these specialized networks.

Melika, a 35-year-old former prisoner who was jailed for buying stolen goods, recounts the hardship she experienced during the six months she spent in jail:

"One may go to jail for the first time for a simple crime, for something that one does not know is a crime, or for a simple dispute. Initially, one feels 'stunned and scared,' not being familiar with the hallways of the courts. One is only aware of the court as a building, and one avoids entering it. As people say, he who enters prison is lost, and he who emerges from it is reborn. This ignorance of what goes on in the court and what follows the court motivates one to deliberate and consider and to assess the consequence of everything. But as soon as the ax falls and one encounters a catastrophe that drags one to the police, to the courts, and then to jail and to the world of female prisoners, the feeling of being stunned disappears in a few days and one tries to develop an understanding with the other prisoners and to find out the reasons for their incarceration from their tales about their experiences when they offer their explanations, analyses, modifications, and confessions. A prisoner may reveal in her cell what she had concealed during the interrogation and trial. Other prisoners start to point out the mistakes she made when she committed her crime, trying to correct these mistakes and to avoid them collectively. Prisoners adapt to this new society and the fear of jail and of the scandal and disgrace that could be caused by imprisonment disappears because one finds prisoners from deep-rooted or wealthy families jailed with her—prisoners who are in a better or worse position in society, or prisoners who have been jailed unjustly or erroneously. Thus, one makes light of one's own circumstances and imprisonment, gets accustomed to the prison atmosphere, and loses the sense of fear, or even of regret. At times, a prisoner develops stronger feelings and a desire to take revenge or to repeat the crime while planning to avoid mistakes made previously and to resort to a number of ruses and precautions to ensure that one does not fall into government hands and does not end up in jail again. One takes precautions and tries hard to avoid jail. But one is no longer afraid to go back to jail again and again because this becomes an ordinary thing. What is more, returning to prison becomes tantamount to a testimony of strength, bravery, and an intimidating character and is cause for boasting."

In this sense, a prison is a link within a closed circle that begins and ends with society. It is a phase for training one to enter a new and advanced level of the world of crime. It is tantamount to a period for reexamining and avoiding mistakes in future experiences and activities. Rather, it is a period in which the prisoner is urged and encouraged to embark on another adventure in challenging one's self, the government, and society. Herein lies the confused and contradictory character of this institution. Instead of rooting out crime and its motives from the female prisoners' souls, imprisonment sharpens and strengthens their delinquent tendencies and develops in them strong animosity for society and its values. It even creates among female prisoners a greater tendency and inclination to embrace the world of crime, to avoid past mistakes, and to demonstrate sophistication, experience, superiority, and intelligence in this

world. This institution's role is highlighted by its reproduction of crime through the phenomenon of recidivism. In the first few days of incarceration, a prisoner may be fearful and repentant and may regret the crime she had committed. But as soon as the first week is over, she adapts to the other prisoners and she socializes with others who may be more or less criminal than she is. Thus, she gets used to the world of crime and accustomed to jail as a predetermined and inevitable fate.

Prison Conditions

92AF1221C Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI
in Arabic 15 Aug 92 p 5

[Text] Most Moroccan prisons are founded on the system of collective incarceration—a system based on the constant mingling of prisoners and distinguished by low costs. But the system's screaming flaws cannot be disregarded because this system generates negative moral results and consequences. In this condition, prison becomes a source of crime and of delinquency because, for example, first-time prisoners or prisoners who have entered the world of crime and delinquency accidentally or by mistake mingle with veteran prisoners and are influenced by them. Moreover, lumping prisoners together in jail poses a threat to the internal system and enables strong prisoners to dominate and tyrannize weaker prisoners.

This mingling is the result of another problem experienced by most jails, namely the problem of overcrowding, keeping in mind that jails are accommodating tenfold their absorption capacity. Surveys made in this connection generally show that the prison population doubles every seven years. However, the absorption capacity has remained unchanged. Regrettably, we have not been able to get an official figure on the Moroccan prisons' absorption capacity from the Prisons Administration. What we have are approximate figures for 1963, 1974, and 1986. Whereas the jails' absorption capacity has remained nearly unchanged since the colonialist era, the number of prisoners grew from 8,707 prisoners in 1963 to 17,748 prisoners in 1974, rising to 27,420 prisoners, or nearly threefold, by the end of 1986. According to the statements of some concerned people in the judiciary and legal fields, women amount to 10-15 percent the total number of prisoners.

The density and danger of overcrowding is reflected not only by the figures but also by the bitter reality that is recounted in the prisoners' reports, statements, or appeals or in the statements they make after they are released from jail. State wards, and at times political detainees along with them, are squeezed into narrow cells that are made even narrower by the apportionment established by the prefect who allots herself and her coterie of prisoners who purchase her satisfaction with food or cigarettes or by fulfilling her wishes, as well as other prisoners whose help she enlists to suppress or oppress the rest of the prisoners, the majority the cell, dividing the remaining part among the other prisoners.

The tax for this overcrowding is paid by prisoners who suffer from sleeping in a position that does not allow them to move during the night or to go to the lavatory, unless they want to be beaten by the prefect and her coterie. Moreover, these prisoners' belongings and possessions are subject to theft. Overcrowding also causes prisoners to be afflicted with numerous diseases, especially skin and pulmonary diseases, such as tuberculosis. This condition also causes diseases to spread among prisoners and makes it impossible to exercise health control or psychological and educational control.

The overcrowding problem is also likely to reduce the chances of education, of eradicating illiteracy, or of training and rehabilitation. The problem also leads to weak or nonexistent social care and impedes application of the simplest rules recommended and enacted internationally for accommodating female prisoners and separating them efficiently.

If we compare the legal provisions on educating and training female prisoners and on providing them with work opportunities with the real situation from which most Moroccan prisons, such as Tetouan prison, suffer we find that there is a vast or horrible difference between them. These provisions remain mere theoretical provisions that are not applied in jails.

Here is an example from Tetouan Prison (Social Report, November 1991).

Note: According to 31 December 1991 statistics, the total number of prisoners in this jail is 583 prisoners: 557 men and 26 women.

Illiteracy Eradication

	Number of Men Registered	Number of Women Registered	Total
First Level	26	2	28
Second Level	4	—	4
Third Level	30	—	30
Grand Total	60	2	62

Elementary Education

	Number of Men Registered	Number of Women Registered	Total
Kindergarten	—	—	—
First Grade, Elementary	—	—	—
Second Grade, Elementary	—	—	—
First Grade, Intermediate	—	—	—
Second Grade, Intermediate	—	—	—
Fifth Grade of Basic Education	6	—	6

By examining these two tables, we notice the small number of women registered for illiteracy eradication in

this jail and the absence of any women registered for elementary and other levels of education in the jail. This condition applies, of course, to women in other Moroccan jails.

A social and moral malady that emanates from this condition is sexual perversion among female prisoners and an increase in the number of lesbians among them. This perversion is practiced either openly, violently, and forcibly, ordinarily between the prefect or a prisoner serving a long term on the one hand and a prisoner recently introduced to jail, or consensually. Such a relationship occurs between a prefect and a prisoner serving a long term or with new prisoners who suffer from perversion in the first place. The sex act takes place between these prisoners under the conditions necessary for sexual activity, such as nudity and direct contact, and at other times under the guise of acting (man and woman) to relieve the sexual repression and denial fomented by prison, which isolates female prisoners from the outside world. At times, nonlesbians innovate means and methods to fulfill their sexual desires, as we see in Zobeida's testimony:

"We often woke up scared in the middle of the night because of a violent fight erupting between some prisoners. When we inquired about the reasons or saw the fights that continued after we woke up, we realized that it had to do with a perverted prisoner who had tried to sexually assault her neighbor.

"The prefect would intervene to end the fight and to pacify the enraged prisoners. At times, she failed to settle the fight and the guards would rush in upon hearing the screaming and the yelling of the prefect and of the assaulted prisoner. They would separate the combatants, taking the assaulted woman to different cell while beating, kicking, and whipping the lesbian.

"Such perversion was practiced in front of everybody. Ordinarily, the prefect shielded such prisoners, especially if they were in love with each other, if they did not fight, if they gave her a part of the provisions they got, or if they brought her food and cigarettes with their purchases from the prison. The prefect did not interfere if a fight developed between such prisoners.

"I saw two prisoners who were jealous for each other and who were in love with one another. The older acted like a jealous and obedient husband who fulfilled her lover's every physical and nonphysical wish and who recruited everybody in the cell to serve this lover.

"One time, I saw a prisoner remove the doughy inside part of bread, knead it, put it in a plastic bag, roll it to look like a male organ, and then use it. One night, the bag broke while she was using it, and the woman developed an infection and had to be taken to the hospital for treatment.

"Another time, I woke up to the screaming of a prisoner yelling and writhing in pain. I do not know what she used

but she was pressing her belly and trying to push something out of there. The prefect called the guards who 'rebuked and censured' the prisoner before they took her to the hospital where she was treated for a long time before she was returned to jail."

Nutrition

By examining the principles contained in the rules for the minimal treatment of prisoners, which spell out how prisoners should be treated and what rights a prisoner has in his capacity as a human being and a citizen before being a criminal or a delinquent individual, we find rule No. 20 which, defines the prison administration's responsibility for feeding prisoners. Paragraph 1 of this rule states that the "prison administration must supply every prisoner at the customary times with food having enough nutritional value to preserve health and strength. This food shall be of good quality and must be prepared and served properly." Paragraph 2 states that "every prisoner must be provided with the means to get potable water whenever he feels the need for it."

We conclude from this rule that every prison administration must supply all of its prisoners, without exception, with basic meals in sufficient quantity to enable the body to continue to perform its function. Food offered to prisoners must have enough nutritional value to preserve and develop the prisoner's strength. This is what the rule states explicitly when it speaks of "food with enough nutritional value to preserve health...."

If we examine Moroccan legislation, we find that it notes the need to provide prisoners with food. Article 37 of the 1930 Decree, which is still applied, states that the "administration must secure the prisoners' food, which must contain meat once a week and on holidays...." The decree states that it is the administration's duty to supply the food and that this food must contain meat one a week and on holidays. But the decree does not touch on the other food components, namely: vegetables, legumes, and beverages. Therefore, it is the jurisdiction of every separate prison administration to determine what food is offered. Here are some examples:

Foods Served to Prisoners During the Week

1. Civilian Prison in Tetouan	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
Monday	Porridge	Cowpeas	Couscous
Tuesday	Tea	Lentils	Rice
Wednesday	Porridge	Cowpeas	Chickpeas
Thursday	Tea	Mixed vegetables	Lentils
Friday	Porridge	Couscous and meat	Chickpeas
Saturday	Porridge	Broad beans and sardines	Rice
Sunday	Tea	Lentils	Mixed vegetables

Foods Served to Prisoners During the Week (Continued)

Note: Broad beans are replaced by cowpeas as of 1 July of each year, and sardines are omitted in the same period and until 31 January.

2. Rural Prison in Ader	Breakfast: 0730	Lunch: 1130	Dinner: 1730
Monday	Porridge	Lentils	Vegetables
Tuesday	Tea	Chickpeas	Couscous (meat)
Wednesday	Porridge	Lentils	Vegetables, sardines (from 1 January to 30 June)
Thursday	Tea	Cowpeas	Rice
Friday	Porridge	Chickpeas and tea	Couscous (meat)
Saturday	Tea	Lentils	Broad beans (from 1 January to 30 June)
Sunday	Porridge	Cowpeas	Cowpeas (from 1 July to 31 December)

From this table, we notice that breakfast in these jails consists of porridge four times a week and tea three times a week (and once for lunch at some prisons); lunch and dinner consist of lentils three times a week, cowpeas two to three times a week; chickpeas twice a week, broad beans once a week, rice twice a week, couscous one to two times a week, meat once a week, sardines once a week, and vegetables twice a week (except for the prison complex in Sale where vegetables are served 10 times a week, which is an exception, not the rule).

On national and religious holidays, women prisoners are given special meals consisting of meat, twice the amount of tea, and one sponge.

There are exceptions where the food program is concerned. Sick female prisoners are entitled to one liter of milk daily or a can of condensed milk and boiled vegetables. Bread is given to all prisoners in the morning (one loaf).

In the month of Ramadan, porridge is served daily and tea once a week. The same type of meals are scheduled for the fast breaking meal in the month of Ramadan.

What can be noted regarding this month is that visits are permitted daily, even on Saturdays and Sundays, and that the prisoner's family can bring her the fast-breaking meal each day.

In general, the food system enacted in Moroccan prisons relies fundamentally on legumes, serving them six to eight times each week.

A female prisoner at Arhbila jail has stressed that the "prison food program relies on legumes, and this causes intestinal ailments. As for vegetables, they always consist

of carrots, turnips, and potatoes. Squash is served only with couscous. Often, we have to recook the vegetables provided to us, adding spices, tomatoes, and onions we get from the guards or from our families. With bribe and graft, everything can be obtained in prison, even banned substances, such as alcohol and drugs."

The food problem in Moroccan prisons and the prisons administration's inability in this regard is due to the small budget allocated for prisons and to the constantly growing number of prisoners.

This is why we find that all legislation, including Moroccan legislation, stipulates the right of prisoners to get food and supplies from outside the jail. The legislation makes a distinction in this regard between precautionary detainees and convicts, permitting the former to bring in food from outside jail daily and the latter to bring it in once a week.

Thus, the female prisoners' families, most of whom are poor, shoulder the cost of supplying the prisoners with modest food, both quantitatively and qualitatively. But generally, it is clean and edible.

Moreover, the families have to put up with long waiting periods, boredom, and the torment of overcrowding to provide their prisoners with supplies. These supplies, often including cigarettes, face the threat of being looted while en route to the prisoner. They are also likely to be seized by the prefect or to be stolen during the night by other prisoners who have no families or whose families live far from prison.

Thus, this condition confirms to us that the distinguishing feature of Moroccan jails is, in addition to overcrowding, the problem of nutrition, embodied in small portions of poor-quality food. All of the statements made confirm that the quantity of food served is small and that the food is not well-prepared. This motivates some prisoners to steal their fellow prisoners' food. Moreover, the prefect seizes the meals of some prisoners or haggles with them over these meals.

A former prisoner at Arhbila prison has testified that the meals served are small in quantity and very poor in quality, describing them as "vegetables floating in water, with no spices and no fat. What makes the food even worse is that the prefect and her companions seize the fatty portion that floats atop the 'pot' and haggle over it with the other prisoners for cigarettes or for foodstuffs supplied by their families. This fatty material is used as fuel to make tea or coffee or to heat or recook food."

One prisoner has asserted that meat is omitted at times from the food program of some female prisoners. The meat served is, according to this prisoner, of poor quality, 'rubbery,' colorless, and tasteless. As for the morning porridge, it is tantamount to flour mixed with water.

Some cases require special care and nutrition but we find that these cases suffer greater hardship in prison. There

are, for example, the cases of pregnant and nursing women. Moroccan law touches on the status of pregnant women [prisoners] in Articles 21 and 32 of the 1963 Criminal Code.

Even though legislators have taken the necessary precautions regarding women, they have not spelled out women's rights in case of detention. This is why a pregnant prisoner does not enjoy special conditions befitting her condition as a pregnant woman, such as receiving enough food that exceeds what is given other prisoners. Other ingredients taking into account the embryo's growth must be added to this food and extra hours of rest and exercise must be given to such prisoners. Such a prisoner must also have the benefit of special medical tests and care.

As for nursing women, Articles 295 and 297 of Section 36 state the following:

Article 297: "In case a woman accompanied by a dependent infant is arrested, the institution director must provide the child with a private bed and with food prescribed for him by the physician. Infants may not be separated from their mothers but must be kept with their mothers in a ward separate from the other female prisoners."

The actual experience in Moroccan jails is that pregnant or nursing women receive the same amount of food served to other prisoners, live in the same cell in which other prisoners live, and are not separated from these prisoners.

Here is testimony on the conditions in the civilian prison in Khouribga:

"I have experienced the hardship of detention at the civilian prison in Khouribga. The room is narrow, dark, and dirty, and it accommodates more than 70 prisoners at times. Mothers and their infants are squeezed with us under humiliating conditions. Exercise in the prison yard does not exceed a quarter hour. The food is bad and abounds with insects. The bread smells odious, and food and tea are served in dirty vessels. People sleep on the floor, with a light blanket for bedding and another for cover. These blankets are dirty and repulsive to look at, let alone use. The idle time we live inside the jail makes the prisoners' hardship even greater."

Medical Care, Sanitation, and Exercise: One Physician and One Weekly Visit To Examine Hundreds of Patients

Moroccan legislation stipulates that a prisoner shall live in a clean environment and shall receive medical care and be protected from diseases. This care and protection are reflected in the attention devoted to the sleeping wings and wards and to the prisoners' physical cleanliness. We find this stated explicitly in Articles 58 and 59 of the 26 June 1930 Decree. Articles 22 through 26 establish the basic ideal rules for treating prisoners in accordance with this principle. These articles state that

preventive sanitary conditions must be secured at prison, that a resident doctor be appointed, and that prisoners be checked daily, in addition to recommending that a dentist be always available when prisoners ask for one. This is at the theoretical level. But at the actual practical level, we find that the opposite is true despite overcrowding in Moroccan jails—a condition that makes it necessary that every prison secure a special clinic, full-time physicians for this clinic, and an ambulance to transport patients in emergencies. Some recently built prisons are an exception. Regrettably, one physician visits each institution once a week to examine the sick only. One can imagine under what conditions female and male patients are examined by one physician. One can cite as an example (Adeir) Prison, which is extremely overcrowded and in which living conditions are bad because of the prison's old age.

One former prisoner (a political detainee jailed in Arh-bila and then in Kenitra) asserts that the physician does not check all sick female prisoners and that a prisoner's request is not enough to ensure that she sees the physician. The request must be supported by certain given facts, such as an emergency or a recommendation by the guard or by the woman in charge of the women's ward or through their intercession with the prison director. Such intercession does not occur unless a bribe is made or the patient is blackmailed to make the bribe. At other times, a patient may be checked by a physician through pressure from outside the jail or through appeals by legal organizations and by the democratic national press.

But this treatment and care and the presence of physicians and nurses in prison institutions are not enough to maintain balanced health among prisoners. There has to be preventive health care before the prisoners become sick. This prevention is embodied in several components, including: exercise, fresh air, and good, clean food. This means maintaining clean wards, restaurant, and bathrooms. This is in addition to the physical cleanliness of the prisoners themselves and of their clothing. We find that Article 24 of the 1930 Decree states that "every prisoner must maintain a condition of cleanliness...."

But the physical conditions of most prisons make such cleanliness almost nonexistent, at times even impossible. The prisons' bylaws do not permit a prisoner to bathe more than once a week. But the manner in which this bathing is performed is humiliating to the prisoners and harmful to their health. Soap is insufficient. Female prisoners are given half a block of soap, and at times one quarter a block, to bathe once a week, and sometimes once a month, with cold water because not enough warm water is available. Sometimes, warm water is not available at all. Moreover, the number of shower heads available is small when compared to the number of female prisoners who, according to one prisoner, are squeezed together. Then barely enough water to wet and soap their bodies is poured over them. The shower heads

are then turned on for a short time, not long enough for the prisoners to rinse and wash their hair. At times, prisoners run away from the bathrooms because the water is either too cold or too hot. At times, the guard creates a problem to blackmail the prisoners, exploiting their need to bathe. She either claims that the water is not warm or that the showers are not working, or she may intentionally block the water and deny prisoners the opportunity to wash. But suddenly, the damaged showers may be back in working order!

Regarding physical exercise, none of the prisoners exercise because there are no exercise facilities or because the prison yards designated for exercise are too narrow. In some prisons, these yards do not receive sunlight. This is the case in Beni Mellal Prison, which has no park and no garden. This prison is sealed (to sunlight), and so is the prison complex in Sale, even though it is spacious.

Work: Prisoners Under Weight of Idleness, Lack of Work, and Absence of Education and Training

Providing detainees with work is intended to keep them busy, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to provide them with vocational training and enable them to face life upon their release from jail.

The 26 June 1930 Decree stipulates that prisoners' work inside or outside jails should have a social character and must not amount to an additional penalty beyond the penalty imposed by the court. The law makes work compulsory for convicts, except for the sick and those sentenced to death. Moreover, the law states that prisoners shall not perform their work free of charge but in return for wages paid to them by the administration to help them with their life when they are released.

We find no application of these provisions and laws regarding the compulsory nature of work and wages in the actual life of Moroccan prisons. Moroccan female prisoners in most of these institutions live a life of horrible idleness, they perform no paid work, and they receive no training or education. The only work they do is some kitchen work, such as cooking, peeling vegetables, or washing utensils. They also clean cell and ward floors and hallways. Prisoners perform all this work involuntarily and without any wages. Thus, these prisoners do not get any chance for training and education in order to learn a vocation or a craft with which to earn a livelihood and to integrate into society upon their release from jail.

Complaints have been submitted either by the prisoners or by their families regarding the facts we have presented in this file. But these complaints have been disregarded, received with indifference, and dumped in the waste basket. There is no better proof of this than the fate that met a letter we sent to a Prison Administration chief. We waited for a long time for the man to pick up a pen and a piece of paper to answer that letter! But there is no better confirmation of what we have just said than the dialogue we had with him over the phone.

Despite this, we carried our pens and papers and mobilized ourselves to present to the honorable readers this modest file in order to expose the bitter reality about which the Prison Administration director has no details and no statistics! In compiling this file, we have enlisted the help of some studies in order to make up for our inability to get the details and statistics with which the director refused to provide us. We should note that what we have obtained is just approximate statistics, even though they are official.

Prison Legislation

*92AF1221D Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI
in Arabic 22 Aug 92 p 5*

[Article by Ahmed Tohami]

[Text] Morocco's prison legislation is old and characterized by the dominance of a male-oriented quality that disregards women totally and that does not take into account a woman's special characteristics as a woman, thus devouring her rights.

Thus, it is necessary to reconsider, taking into account the requirements dictated by modern life insofar as rights are concerned.

As an issue, women have received great attention at all levels. As for women and prison or women and prison legislation in general, it can be said that prison legislation, especially in Morocco, is distinguished by two characteristics:

First, it is old legislation.

Second, it is predominantly male-oriented, meaning that it does not take the special characteristics of women into consideration.

However, we find that these two characteristics are not confined to Moroccan legislation, but include even international legislation. For example, the rules for the minimal treatment of prisoners are also distinguished by these two characteristics, i.e., old and male-oriented. Therefore, we are supposed to reconsider prison legislation under current circumstances, taking into account especially a number of new requirements dictated by modern life insofar as rights are concerned, such as the requirements of education, recreation, and so forth.

Regarding women and their status in Morocco's prison legislation, one can make the following observations:

First, about women as biological entities.

Second, about women as fundamental members of families, that is, as mothers.

Third, about women as citizens.

Regarding the first point, namely the status of women in the legislation, we notice that legislation does not take into account the special biological characteristics of women, particularly in connection with the issue of

cleanliness and health. I do not think that prison legislation, or even the actual practice, provides women with adequate means to be clean, especially during menstruation. Women enjoy no advantage because of their special characteristics as women, whether in terms of clothing or of other vital aspects.

There is another important issue regarding women, namely the issue of the woman as a mother, i.e., as a family member, especially nursing women.

I do not think there are enough facilities to accommodate a woman as the mother of an infant, especially material facilities and diet for a nursing mother. We know that a nursing mother requires a special diet that is rich with a variety of ingredients. Neither prison legislation nor actual prison practices provide this type of diet. Generally, the legislation does not touch on these issues by virtue of their being partial issues. But they are partial issues that are important to women.

Regarding the third point, namely the woman as a citizen with rights and duties, the age of the Moroccan legislation makes it outdated legislation that devours women's rights. Numerous rights are not established by the prison legislation because it is old.

Therefore, it is an immediate requirement to reconsider the prison legislation. This applies not just to the Moroccan legislation, as I have already noted, but also to international legislation. For example, the rules for the minimal treatment of prisoners were established in the 1950's. The standard of living, of recreation, and of numerous other things has changed since the 1950's. We are approaching the 21st century, and we must understand the new requirements of modern life.

Generally, what can be said regarding the status of women in prison legislation is that this legislation disregards women totally, unless we exclude the issue of separation, considering that a distinction is made between a men's ward and a women's ward. Regardless of this point, I do not think that prison legislation has comprehended the special characteristic of the woman as a prisoner. Here, we can support these observations with other observations derived from the real situation:

What is known about crime by women is that it is crime that does not follow the same logic as crime committed by men. This is because a high percentage of men end up in jail, whereas a very small percentage of women end up in jail. This difference can be explained by several factors. But what is important is that women are not less criminal than men, even though they are less likely to be incarcerated in prison.

This aspect is due to several factors, of which I can mention, for example, the special manner in which law enforcement agencies deal with women. Women benefit from some sort of flexible treatment and from the fundamental assumption of innocence, a benefit that men do not receive. This explains the strong presence of men and light presence of women in prisons.

Another element is that women are not subjected to a freedom-robbing penalty the way men are because women do not participate in violent crime, because they are mothers and because of other considerations.

Female Prisoners: From Material Exploitation to Sexual Exploitation

Is what occurs at women's prisons more horrible than what occurs at men's prisons? How do the authorities concerned view the female prisoner? Does she enjoy privileges denied her male counterpart? How do the administration and the prison guards deal with publicward prisoners and political prisoners? Moreover, what kind of relations exist in jail between prisoners, on the one hand, and between them and guards and the administration, on the other?

The fact is that a female prison is almost a closed world. It is a world that is more tightly closed than a male prison. This leads, of course, to scarce details and little information and to many facts being concealed from the public.

It so happens that a prisoner experienced and knowledgeable in the kind of relations woven within this tent has spoken up about what happens inside the women's cement tent, thus exposing this terrible tragedy.

The truth is that in Morocco, female prisoners enjoy no privilege over men. Rather, a women's prison is almost tantamount to a "school" to train numerous prisoners to take up prostitution or pandering as a profession or to join a criminal network.

Flagrant "class discrimination" is practiced at women's prisons, and the least that can be said about the way some female guards behave with the prisoners is that it is a conduct intended to humiliate the prisoner and destroy her pride. But the more gifts given, the better this treatment gets.

As in men's prisons, women guards enlist the help of some women prisoners to establish law and order in jail. Those enlisted are called prefects, and these prefects play a serious role in exploiting prisoners, beginning with material exploitation and ending with sexual exploitation. Whoever rejects or fights such exploitation ends up being subjected to insults and punishment and assigned to perform all of the tiring or degrading work.

The prefects represent the administration's and the guards' spies in the prison. What is more terrible is that they resort to false reports to cause trouble for prisoners who do not submit to their wishes.

Prisoners are of different types and kinds. Some are permanent prisoners; the cases of some are still before an examining magistrate; and some are sentenced to long prison terms. The prisoners include some victims who have to either merge in the prison world with all its evils or fight not to be caught in the snares of other prisoners lurking for them. Thus, some tales tell of night "parties" that occur when some prisoners are trapped and about

how such activities take place either between female prisoners themselves, between a female prisoner and a male prisoner, or between female prisoners and elements from the administration.

Such activities are, of course, tantamount to deals that are no less significant than other transactions concluded within a women's prison, beginning with the promotion of drugs to the promotion of all kinds of prohibited activities.

This happens in any women's prison, of course, and in every prison to a varying degree, depending on the type of women prisoners involved. But big-city prisons are a theater for the most horrible and heinous activities.

Efforts To Improve Conditions

92AF1221E Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI
in Arabic 22 Aug 92 p 5

[Interview With Dr. Mohamed Karam, member of the Moroccan Human Rights Organization; place and date not given]

[Text]

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] In your capacity as member of the Moroccan Human Rights Organization, we would like you to explain to readers the efforts the organization has made and continues to make in order to familiarize itself with the true conditions of Morocco's prisons and prisoners.

[Karam] I can assure you that those who are active in the area of human rights in Morocco, including the Moroccan Human Rights Organization, of course, have demanded repeatedly to be familiarized with the true conditions of prisons and prisoners. This can only be accomplished with on-the-spot visits and by establishing a mechanism for constant watch.

The Moroccan Human Rights Organization has noticed, either through correspondence it has received or through testimony, through the national press, and through the debates of the Chamber of Deputies, that the situation in prisons generally is tragic, whether in terms of absorption capacity, considering that prisons are experiencing terrible overcrowding; or in terms of prisoner treatment in the areas of medical care and treatment, vocational education and training, exercise, and family visits. This is why the organization has demanded repeatedly, especially on occasions when some political detainees staged hunger strikes, to make on-the-spot-visits to prisons. It has also demanded reviving the spirit of Article 661 of the Criminal Code, which states that a "control committee shall be assigned in every prefecture or province and it shall be entrusted especially to watch for the availability of the means of health and protection from all diseases and of a prisoner feeding program, and for the prisoners ordinary living conditions, and also to help rehabilitate prisoners morally, to merge them socially, and to put them in the right place upon their release.

"This committee shall be headed by the prefect or by whomever he deputizes, and he shall be assisted by the lower court president and the provincial court president and their state representatives, and by the provincial medical officer or head of the public bureau or his representative.

"The committee shall include volunteer members appointed by the minister of justice from among notables known for their concern with the fate of convicts."

This means that the volunteers are supposed to be lawyers volunteering through their unions or individuals active in the field of human rights, i.e. members from organizations concerned with human rights generally.

At an earlier time and in the wake of repeated hunger strikes staged by some political detainees at Lalou Prison—prisoners who were taken afterward to Avicenna Hospital in serious condition—several meetings were held between representatives of the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Justice and representatives of the three human rights organizations. It was agreed at those meetings that a delegation representing the three human rights organizations would make field visits to a number of prisons, especially Lalou Prison, which saw regrettable incidents as a result of a sit-in strike by a number of prisoners to demand improved detention conditions. But no such visits took place, and the mechanism stipulated by Article 661 has not been revived. Moreover, the Moroccan Human Rights Organization has repeatedly asked the authorities concerned to permit it to visit some prisons which have been experiencing numerous problems. The latest effort made by the organization was embodied in its demand to visit Akacha Prison, to which a number of political detainees were transferred from Arhbila Prison. Those detainees staged an indefinite hunger strike, but this endeavor received no response. The truth is that all endeavors in this regard have failed. It can be said that the only time in which a field visit was made dates back to 1987, when a parliamentary committee visited the Kenitra Central Prison. To my knowledge, a French television delegation also visited the new prison in Sale (el Salam Quarter Prison), where our brother struggler Noubir Mohamed Amaoui is detained arbitrarily.

At Times, Innocent Infants Are Seen Suffering in Jail and Serving a Penalty With Which They Have Nothing to Do

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] What are the characteristics that distinguish women's prisons, and what is the status of women as far as laws are concerned and their status at the actual practical level?

[Karam] Moroccan legislation makes no distinction between male and female prisoners. At the practical level, a prison designated for women is separated from one designated for men. A women's prison is supervised by female social workers. But the institution designated as the place where women serve their sentence constitutes a part of a general prison, i.e., it can be said that a

ward within the general prison is set aside for women. Weekly visitation hours and days are also allocated for women prisoners.

Another observation is that numerous female prisoners, whether under precautionary detention or convicted prisoners, are arrested while they are pregnant or nursing, their infants notwithstanding. Legally, infants may not serve a prison term with their mothers. Morocco's prison institutions do not have the minimal means to care for infants and to provide them with the proper diet, medical care and treatment, and the requisites of comfort. This also applies to pregnant female detainees.

Introduce Open or Semi-Open Prison System To Avoid Social and Psychological Consequences Emanating from Current Prison Conditions

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] But there is in the Moroccan legislation a provision on the execution of a penalty that robs a pregnant woman of her freedom for more than six months. It states that such a penalty may not be carried out until 40 days after the woman delivers her baby.

[Karam] At times, there are cases that are discovered after the sentence has been issued and served. Thus, a pregnant female prisoner is not released, and she gives birth during her incarceration. So we see innocent children suffering inside prison and serving a sentence with which they have nothing to do. At other times, a nursing female prisoner is compelled to take her infant with her to prison for one reason or another. This is a real tragedy. The premises for infants nursed by imprisoned mothers are supposed to be separate, meaning that there must be a special nursery for these children and it must be attached to the prison. Otherwise, the institution for the punishment of nursing mothers must be reconsidered fundamentally by introducing an open or semiopen prison system to avoid the social and psychological consequences emanating from this situation.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] Are prisoners classified and separated accordingly, and what are the criteria by which this is done?

[Karam] Regarding prisoners in Moroccan jails, there is no classification or separation. A precautionary detainee, a convicted prisoner, a civil detainee, a juvenile, and an adult are lumped together in the same jail, and at times in the same cell. It is noticed that juveniles are placed with adult prisoners in the same prison building. Moreover, precautionary detainees are not separated from hardened convicts and criminals. The same applies to the civil detainee whose only offense is that he has not fulfilled his contractual obligations. Thus, the corporeal coercion code is applied against such a detainee, even though he has not committed a crime in the sense defined by the criminal code. But regrettably, this detainee is not separated from a criminal who has committed murder, for example. Moreover, a precautionary detainee, who is innocent until proven guilty

because innocence is the rule, is detained with convicts. The same applies for detainees imprisoned for unpremeditated crime (such as traffic accidents, for example).

Preserve and Respect Prisoner's Dignity When Detained for Any Reason

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] Doesn't this condition result in perils and in negative consequences to the prisoners' psyche and to their behavior and morals?

[Karam] Some of the perils that emanate from this condition are:

- The detainees are subjected to a bitter experience which they haven't chosen.
- They may be exposed to perversion inside prison.
- This condition may have such a psychological impact on them that they emerge from jail as desperate individuals hating themselves and their society and seeking revenge.

First and foremost, there is the issue of a person's dignity, which must be preserved if he is detained for any reason. It is unreasonable for a person who has committed an unpremeditated crime to be lodged in the same cell with a professional criminal.

Therefore, I call for observing the minimal rules adopted by the United Nations in 1955 for the treatment of prisoners.

The response of the authorities concerned regarding the classification and separation of prisoners is that space is limited. In this regard, it can be said that there are now nearly 34,000 male and female prisoners in Moroccan jails, while the jails' absorption capacity does not exceed 16,000-17,000 prisoners under the best circumstances. For example, Arhbila Prison's absorption capacity did not exceed 800 male and female prisoners in the past, but it has contained more than 2,400 prisoners, of whom women prisoners constituted no more than 10 percent.

[AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI] From your followup on the conditions in prisons within the framework of your task as a lawyer and as a member of a human rights organization, haven't you heard of suicide attempts or of crimes committed in prison?

[Karam] I have personally heard of several suicide attempts inside jails. The national press has also spoken about crimes committed in side jail [words indistinct].
[end Karam]

Testimony From Scientific Study

92AF1221F Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI
in Arabic 22 Aug 92 p 6

[Text] At 1500 on 10 January 1991, a group of female students from the Legal, Economic, and Social Sciences College of Mohamed V University in Rabat went to the prison complex in the city of Sale to visit the female prisoners in this institution and to familiarize themselves with their situation and their living conditions.

They made the visit after they had applied to the director of the Rabat Prison Administration, who issued them a permit to visit the jail. But even with this permit, the students were not permitted to visit the prisoners inside their cells directly to better familiarize themselves with the living conditions in this prison. The meetings and the interviews were conducted with the prison employees, including some female guards and officials, and with a number of prisoners in the presence of the institution guards or officials.

After numerous visits, meetings, and interviews, the young women acquired some facts and testimonies from which we will excerpt the following for the readers:

The prison complex at Sale is one of the new prisons, considering that it was built in the Salam Quarter in the mid-1980's and that it was inaugurated on 22 September 1989. It extends over a vast area surrounded by a high fence.

This prison complex consists of two wings: one for women and one for men.

The women's wing includes three cells, two lavatories, and two bathrooms on the top floor. The lower floor consists of three rooms.

The northern wing, which is designated for men and which is much bigger than the women's wing, also consists of two floors: the upper floor, which contains the administration, and the lower floor, which includes the men's ward and all of the utilities incorporated into the prison complex.

According to the figures at 1500 on 10 January 1991, there were 1,625 prisoners at the Sale prison complex, including 85 detained women, or 5.23 percent of the total number. There were 44 precautionary female detainees and 41 convicted prisoners, in addition to seven children, three boys and four girls ranging in age from one month to five years, with their detained nursing mothers.

These female prisoners are transferred from various cities. Some come from Skirat, Temara, Sale, and the suburbs adjacent to this city. There are also those who come from Essaouira, Baida, and Khenifra. Moreover, a number of female prisoners come here to appeal their sentences. The institution also receives all the female prisoners of the Special Court of Justice and the Military Court in its capacity as the [holding jail] center for these two courts.

Prison: A Battle With an Imprisoned Self and Banished Dreams

From an attempt to reveal the secrets and details of the female prisoners' lives at the Sale central prison, it has been concluded that:

The female prisoner's relationship with the administration is generally stable, considering that no attempt at escape, rebellion, or insubordination has been recorded at the prison complex.

Even though prison restricts, almost eliminates, the prisoner's freedom, it hasn't deprived her of the right to receive visitors and to exchange correspondence.

Female prisoners suffer from sexual deprivation. This is a result of isolation of the female prisoner and of her mingling with individuals from the same sex and not from the other sex. This leads to the proliferation of sexual perversion among them.

Despite lack of the means of relaxation and recreation in prison, which is an institution that deprives one of his freedom and turns one's life into a hell, this has not stopped the female prisoners from trying to create an atmosphere of merriment, entertainment, and creative activity, such as acting, singing, poetry reading, and painting.

Regarding prisoners' work and educational activity, the prison administration has taken no initiative in this regard. The only initiative has come from educated prisoners. As for work, the only work that a female prisoner performs inside or outside prison consists of simple activities, such as cleaning the women's ward and washing vegetables.

The female prisoner's emotional life collapses. Her husband may divorce her (if she is married) if the prison term is long and if the charge against her is the violation of honor.

This is likely to leave a female prisoner's children without care, thus creating numerous problems. This is why the administration permits children who are under six to stay with their jailed mothers at prison.

Even though prison is considered a reform institution intended to correct crooked behavior, it is tantamount in fact to estrangement, confinement, suppression, humiliation, and a battle with an imprisoned self, banished dreams, constant aimlessness, profound regret, and a brain-splitting violence that sears the body and destroys all aspirations. It is an unbearable hell because it is the equivalent of overcrowding, diseases, cruelty, and deprivation. All these are elements that propel the female prisoner to create for herself a merry atmosphere in which she forgets her concerns and pains by creating means of recreation.

Creativity and Recreation

A female prisoner is a human being who cannot repress her talents and remain silent and idle. This is why we find that she tries to utilize her talents and the talents of other female prisoners to teach and learn. There is, for example, 17-year-old Amina, who has a high-school education. She loves poetry, and she reads and writes poetry because, according to her, it is the only means that

makes her forget her past and alleviate her pains and her lover's betrayal. When she was asked relentlessly to recite some of her verses, she responded, "Great is the difference between what I say and what poets say." She then recited:

"I have killed you with my own hands, my little child, so you will not meet my fate. You and I have been betrayed by the one I loved. I would have always kept you by my side, except for my oath to see the cause of my fate lost."

These verses make it obvious to us how greatly this prisoner suffers and how pained she is for her bitter condition in which she has had no hand (as she says), which has been caused to her by her lover and which will not prevent her from avenging herself on the cause and repaying him twofold for his deed, even if it is at the expense of her life.

The crime of Zobeida, a 46-year-old rug weaver from the city of Khemisset, is corruption. She has said: "I lost my job. Because our area is famous for tattooing, I wanted to make up for my loss by tattooing my fellow prisoners who wish to be tattooed. But the prison administration prevents me from doing this. It says that it is not prepared to bear the consequences of tattooing because these consequences are not laudable."

The crime of Latifa, a 26-year-old, is corruption and theft with the assistance of four colleagues, all of whom are with her in the prison. She frequented a coiffure's shop often, and there she learned how to cut hair, plus some illegal activities. She has a seventh-grade education. She likes to paint the body with henna and to make up female prisoners as if they were on their wedding night.

Hadou Kias is a 28-year-old prisoner who killed her apartment building guard because she suffers from a sexual complex. She refused to have sex with the guard because she likes to have sex with other women. She also likes to paint, especially naked women. This confirms her complex. When she was asked why she hated men, she said: "By God, I do not know. I do not know. Perhaps I was born with my complex."

The crime of 42-year-old Aisha is drug trafficking, prostitution, and pandering. She has said: "To me, there is no distinction between prison and the outside world. There is no difference between prison and life outside prison. My life is nothing but emptiness. Rather, to me, prison is better than the outside world. Since the age of 17, I have been moving from jail to jail. This is the eighth time I have entered jail because of prostitution, using and selling drugs, and theft."

Aisha, a 32-year-old prisoner whose crime is corruption and theft, recited upon our insistence a song that she had brought with her from Meknes Prison and taught to all the other prisoners. [song omitted]

Significant meanings and indications are made clear to us by this song, especially the prisoner's resentment of

the internal prison conditions and her not being convinced of the court's sentence. She believes that the court president's judgment was wrong, and we find that she hoped that kind intervention by some party would soften the sentencing magistrate's heart. We also notice in this song the presence of the mother because mother is the symbol of kindness and mercy and because she does not abandon her children under any circumstances, even if the father does. The mother shares her daughter's sorrows and tries to find a justification for her, contrary to the father who believes that the daughter has disgraced and disobeyed him and soiled the family's reputation and honor.

At the end of the song, we find that the prisoner denies her responsibility and fails to acknowledge her mistake (dialogue with prisoners in the city of Sale prison complex at 1500 on 20 February 1991).

As for acting, the subject matter is always connected with the court. The female prisoners form a court council and the role of the magistrate is played by the oldest among them, for example. The task of public prosecutor is assigned to the prefect (i.e., the kabranah). The educated among the prisoners play the role of lawyer. The defendant's role is assigned to the youngest and to the powerless among the prisoners in an atmosphere of laughter and of derision.

Prison Disputes

Most prisoners fight for trivial reasons that are often connected with the theft of such items as powdered soap, other kinds of soap, or underwear.

The strange thing that one guard noticed is that prisoners, especially prisoners jailed because of corruption, cause fights intentionally and try to escalate these fights so that male guards will intervene to stop these fights and so they can see the other sex. If anything, this underlines the sexual deprivation from which female prisoners suffer. The prefect is the individual in charge of disputes. When a problem develops between two or more prisoners, the prefect takes them to the officials and tells them the details, thus denying her responsibility. If the two disputing parties are reconciled, then the problem ends. But if they do not, they are taken to what is called "solitary confinement."

The prefects are appointed by the female guards because of their constant contact with the prisoners. Consequently, these guards are better aware of who is fit for this task. Some prefects assault the prisoners and steal their provisions on agreement with the guards.

Contractual Transactions

Because it is not permitted to use money in prison, the only other means of contractual transactions is bartering, such as exchanging a pair of pants for a shirt, an apple for a book, meat for something else, and so forth.

Prisoners' Conversations

Most of these conversations center on sex, on the prisoners' lives before they entered jail, on the reasons behind their incarceration, and on their emotional adventures. Some tell of their lovers' betrayal; some bemoan being deprived of their children, and some feel sorry and pained because of their condition. Generally, all prisoners are eager to see their husbands, their children, their beloved ones, and their freedom. (Interview with a prisoner on 22 February 1991).

Sexual Perversion

Prisoners afflicted with this malady are two kinds: The first includes those who are known in prison to be afflicted by this malady. They are isolated in cells as of the time they arrive in jail. Their files denote their sick condition, and their nicknames are recorded in their files. There are in the prison complex two female prisoners, one of whom is nicknamed Sa'id [a man's name] and the second nicknamed Hadj Moti. The other kind is the perverted who are not known to the administration. When it is rumored that a prisoner is perverted, the administration moves her to the cell assigned for the perverts, unless she refuses to go or the administration becomes certain that the rumor is false. (Interview with three female guards outside the women's ward, in an administrative office, to be precise).

Prisoner's Dreams

A prisoner's dreams are as numerous and varied as a free woman's dreams. They are almost the same. The only difference is that a prisoner yearns for freedom. This is what was noticed in an interview with a number of prisoners.

Khedija, a 22-year-old prisoner, dreams of and hopes to leave prison and marry her fiancé, who did not stop visiting her throughout the period of her incarceration because her crime, according to him, is not a crime of honor and because the issue is connected with a dirty trick played against his fiancée, causing her to end up in jail.

The crime of Lobna, a 28-year-old tourist guide, is her failure to report on her husband, an engineer who engaged in fraudulent activity. She dreams of returning to her husband with her newborn infant who was born in jail, even though her husband is the reason for her imprisonment. She hopes to raise her newborn outside the prison bars.

Testimony

In prison, there are various forms and shapes of blackmail, beginning with blackmailing a prisoner and pressuring her to pay in return for better residential conditions or in return for warm water for a bath and ending with blackmailing the family on the pretext of caring for the prisoner and for not inspecting the basket sent to her.

Otherwise, the basket is plundered and whatever food is in it takes a different shape, taste, and color.

Even an infant accompanying his mother in prison does not escape the blackmail and plunder because a guard might seize his milk!

The relationship between the guard and the prisoners begins as of the day on which a prisoner is transferred from the police station to prison. As soon as a prisoner is introduced to the women's ward, the guards begin casting examining looks at her to determine her social and financial status. The process of checking the prisoner's belongings then begins, and the guards exploit this process to appropriate whatever articles of clothing and other things they wish to appropriate. Prisoners who are well off, often drug traffickers or prostitutes who ply their trade with petrodollar tourists, are separated from the other prisoners and presented to the women's ward director, who promises them a comfortable stay and good treatment.

If the women's ward director exploited the overcrowding in Arhbila Prison to sell space to new prisoners, then the same behavior has continued even after the transfer to the prison complex in Casablanca, which is more spacious than the old prison. The bribe for placing a prisoner in a cell with better living conditions and with prisoners of the same material level amounts to 1,500 dirhams, at times 2,000 dirhams. Otherwise, a prisoner is squeezed into a cell with poor prisoners where headaches and quarrels abound. This is done intentionally so as to pressure a prisoner to make her pay for a better place.

This in addition to the sums of money that a prisoner has to pay for enjoying some of life's essentials, such as fuel for heating food. A sum of 500 dirhams is paid for this essential.

What is permitted this group of prisoners is denied the others who could be even subjected to punishment if they try to solve their problems in their own ways. This is what happened at the beginning of this year when some prisoners were beaten by the prison guards with sticks on the instructions of the women's ward director only because they were caught heating their food with a "wick." Meanwhile, other prisoners enjoy everything they wish, including radios and even hair dryers, under the protection of the women's ward director and guards.

It must be noted here that when the administration plans to inspect the ward within the framework periodic inspections it conducts from time to time, the ward director notifies her prisoner clients and prohibited articles are stored away until the inspection is completed. The articles are then returned to their owners. The services provided by the women's ward official and the guards go beyond the prison boundaries to include contacts with the prisoners' families, either to convey news or to bring in clothing and, moreover, money and a food basket on the holidays (Saturday and Sunday) when the administration prohibits the introduction of food.

Visitation Conditions

Even though the new prison contains several visitation halls, the visitation activity is disorganized intentionally. More than 25 prisoners are squeezed into one visitation hall and the number is doubled with visitors. So the place ends up being a suq [open market], where the only thing heard is screaming and yelling, interspersed by efforts on the part of the guards to loot the prisoners' families with the claim that they take care of their imprisoned daughters and with the promise not to inspect the food basket that families bring to their imprisoned relatives. If a guard is not paid anything by a prisoner's family, she proceeds to inspect the basket in a barbaric manner, upturning it and scattering its contents in order to pressure the prisoner and her family to pay her in cash.

The visits last just 10 minutes, after which one group of visitors is taken out and another taken in. The looting goes on until all the visitors make their visits. The guards end up with pockets swollen with banknotes, of which the women's ward official ends up with the lion's share.

Food and Cleanliness

The diet offered to female prisoners is bad and would be shunned by starving dogs. This diet is based on legumes cooked in a way that makes them difficult to swallow. A very small piece of old beef is provided once a week.

Some prisoners depend on the food which their families bring during the week. This food does not escape looting and plundering by the female guards who take out of the prisoners' baskets all the milk, cheese, fruits, and canned foods they wish. They carry this food to their homes, at times in handbags and at others they hide it in their undergarments. Even the milk that is supplied by the administration to nursing mothers (which is all that is given to these mothers, in addition to legumes) is appropriated by the female guards.

In an effort to blackmail the largest number of prisoners, the women's ward official creates some problems intentionally, such as not turning on the showers on the pretext that they are damaged in order to sell hot water to the prisoners. She brings her clients hot bath water from the kitchen while letting the prisoners who have nothing to offer bathe in cold water. The women's ward director always selects the winter season to fabricate a breakdown in the showers.

As for cleanliness in the cells, the prisoners rely on the soap they get from their families. Regarding the means of cleanliness supplied by the prison administration, they are shared by the prison male and female employees before they get to the prisoners.

Despite all that goes on in prisons, whether regarding the harsh treatment and the torturing of male and female prisoners or the looting and the blackmail that is practiced against their families and that is no secret to anybody, the General Administration has not moved a finger to deter these modes of behavior. Even the visits

that the Prison Administration's general director makes don't go as far as trying to learn the prisoners' conditions because he passes through quickly on his way to the rug factory and then leaves this place as quickly without giving male or female prisoners the opportunity to talk to him.

Detainee's Hardship

In prison, words are dispensed by the balance of strength and weakness and the female prisoner lives the life of a mute and a blind in every sense of the word. She lives death moment by precise moment.

She is treated like an object. Rather, even objects are called by their names, while the prisoner is deprived of her name and given a number.

She tries to escape the reality through imagination and dream. But she is jerked away from the dreaming moment to live the moments of pain, humiliation, and torture again and again.

In prison, the female prisoner experiences estrangement and loneliness and develops close relations with other kinds of creatures.

[Box, p 6]

Testimony

(Z) was arrested at her birthplace in Khouribga on 19 January 1984, thus beginning the tragedy of a "detainee's hardship. This tragedy lasted throughout the theoretical period of custody which exceeded the legal duration by 12 days, with the brutality dictated by that terrible custodial world where the constitutional law is not respected. So how can one believe that the ethical or religious law is respected?

In the police station, words are dispensed with the balance of strength and weakness. Those assigned to interrogate are given all the powers to make (Z) and her likes experience death moment by precise moment. This condition is ended at the henchmen's wish.

(Z) was sentenced to silence and so she lived at the time the life of the mute and of the blind in every sense of the word.

After the police station phase and the lower court and appeals court phase, (Z) started the prison phase. The image of this prison is embodied in her memory as silent walls, thick bars, darkness, injustice, dirt, humiliation, and hunger.

(Z) looks into the history of this building, who built it, and why he built it. She gets this answer: It was built by colonialism to conceal and torture the national resistance men. It is now the center for interrogating and torturing strugglers inside their homeland.

(Z) and a friend joined the first group going to the civilian prison in Khouribga where they were given the

special welcome customary to this building. They were taken to the women's ward—a dark and dirty ward. The first words of welcome were: "Take off your clothes." (Z) and her friend were surprised and stood motionless. The words were then repeated more severely with a threatening note.

(Z) and her friend were searched very thoroughly from head to toe. They then went to the registration office, and there they encountered a major catastrophe. All their belongings were taken away from them, including their names which were replaced by numbers.

(Z) and her friend were then led to a narrow room and (Z) wondered how oxygen could get into such dark and dirty rooms.

Inside this room, (Z) developed warm relations with other kinds of creatures: bugs, cockroaches, lice, and mice.

There, (Z) learned the meaning of double-talk, double standards, prosperity and destitution, gentleness and violence, war and peace, all of which depended on the detainee's gift-giving, generosity, and obedience or on her poverty, destitution, and rebelliousness.

She experienced an internal estrangement that intensified her loneliness, considering that she was in the same city where her family and friends lived and that she breathed the same air they breathed. But she was far from feeling their breath, smelling their sweat, and feeling the warmth of their bodies!

In prison, (Z) experiences all the phases of life.

For childhood, she goes to the yard to play.

For youth, she dreams of tomorrow and how life in the outside world is lived.

For old age, she experiences despair.

This is the bitter reality that motivated her to escape the real world through her imagination. She tried to boycott the reality and to develop a firm relationship with the dream world.

She lives dreaming and imagining more than she lives in the real world. She dreams of tomorrow. Most of her time is overwhelmed by pain of all kinds and her feeling of being deprived of love, kindness, peace, and social life intensifies. She tries to alleviate her pain by taking her memory to the time before her arrest and she feels relaxed, even if only for a few hours, and she relives her sweetest memories with family and friends.

Suddenly, the henchmen come to wrest her away from her dreaming moment as they wrested her from her family to experience the torture of interrogation and the pain of physical and moral humiliation.

In prison, she became accustomed to living with insects and worms. She even ate them because hunger is devastating. Despite the bad food that was garnished with bugs

and despite the obnoxious smell of the bread, (Z) devoured hers because the dirt and mustiness of the place overwhelmed the obnoxious smell of the food.

(Z) gets sick but finds nobody to treat her because there is no physician.

(Z) left prison on 19 January 1985. Finally, she sighs, the muscles in her face contract, and she says with emotion: No matter what is written, recounted, or told about this experience, it is difficult for everybody to understand it and to comprehend how profound is its hardship.

Views Toward Female Prisoners

92AF1221G Casablanca AL-ITTIHAD AL-ISHTIRAKI
in Arabic 22 Aug 92 p 7

[Article by Mohamed Sassi]

[Text] To begin, I wish to raise some questions and offer some observations concerning the "woman prisoner" concept.

Regarding the Moroccan woman's status, we can talk of the prison concept within a framework that is broader and more comprehensive than the institutions where penalties are executed by the criminal justice agencies or a framework that is broader than the institution where detainees are held until a court decision is made. Through the prevalent social, cultural, and ideological structures, women are doomed to live within the boundaries of the canvas of their social arena and within the context of a partially-confiscated freedom of movement and of subordination and subjugation to some sort of coercive visual authority that tries to force women to follow a course predetermined for them. Isn't the home itself tantamount to prison space for women? There are at least two elements that contribute to entrenching this status, namely presence of the principle of custodianship and presidency over women—a principle reinforced by the law. There is no doubt that the freedom of the subordinate is less than that of the boss. The boss has to confiscate a part of the subordinate's freedom within the home space. Beginning with the first article, the personal statutes establish this relationship which permits, according to their concept of the home environment, men to exercise the power of controlling, watching, and delineating the geographic sphere of the woman's movement and the social sphere of her activity.

The second element is the vast groups of women who are kept unemployed and who are viewed as a non-productive capacity. This concept is reinforced by a successive series of social and political administrative steps and by various mechanisms that obstruct women's productivity and that turn an unemployed woman married to a working man into an instrument of procreation that watches over the husband's comfort and that tends and maintains the home. She is confined to the home. Women's acceptance of the fait accompli, which seems to be the case for conventional women, does not so much

signify ideological acceptance of the position of inferiority as it signifies coercive violence and physical compulsion. Consequently, a woman has no alternative but to stay home within the terms dictated to her by the husband as long as she is economically ineligible to rebel against the husband and leave the home. And leave the home for where? Even when a woman possesses the means for economic self-independence, if she tries to acquire her own housing she is confronted with a series of challenges and she is pursued with questions, censure, and prejudgments. Thus, she is compelled to look for a way to defend herself and to reassert her purity and virtuousness by looking for another place that is more suitable for passing and confirming this defense, such as returning to her family home, i.e., a home where man has the authority. A home where strong male authority exists is the only place where a woman is permitted to enter without social censure.

This form of control over the course of a woman's movement from place to place and of compelling her to live in a given place is tantamount to a big prison and of usurpation of freedom. This is usurpation is committed officially and legally behind the well-known prison bars. But the concept reflects a mentality and a space that could extend beyond the well-known prison bars and it enables us to understand some of what Michel (Foucault) has written. Foucault believes that if the age of enlightenment has granted man a number of liberties, it has subjected him in return to the arrangements, designs, and technology of a disciplinary society that compels him to submit to a higher seeing eye that watches this human being and that denies him, in polite ways, many of the liberties which modern societies allege to have secured for their citizens.

Therefore, prison is not the [only] place where penalties are executed or where precautionary detainees are kept. This kind of prison is nothing but the crowning point in a pyramid where a number of institutions engage in similar freedom-usurping activity. Perhaps these institutions are less violent or perhaps their violence is better concealed. This is what has motivated Foucault to compare the prison institution with some other institutions, such as mental asylums and schools, and conclude ultimately that we shouldn't separate prison in the narrow sense of the word from its firm connection, as a philosophy and as a source, with institutions that are found here and there and that are tied to imprisonment most closely.

To women, the concept of usurping their freedom goes beyond watching their every step within the country to confining their movement when it comes to leaving the country. To get a passport, a woman has to have a man's approval, be she married or single. Even if it comes to performing some religious rites, such as pilgrimage to Mecca, she is required to take a guard with her because it is required to guard her body. A woman has not yet risen to the level that permits us to acknowledge her right to guard her own body, if it needs to be guarded!

Moral Crimes Are Main Reason for Imprisonment of Women

Within the same context, I still ask questions about the concept of prison and prison space. Keeping in mind that we are talking about imprisoned women, I will point out some institutions that often disregard women or that don't pay enough attention to studying and examining their relations with women. When we want to learn about women prisoners in our country, we proceed immediately to well-known prisons that are designated as women's prisons legally. But we pay no attention to the prison space that is created in some other places, such as the tombs of holy men. We proceed from the concept that women, according to what is reported by writings and studies conducted in this regard, are the primary customer of holy tombs because they are more commonly exposed to mental and psychological problems emanating from their dual hardship, considering that they suffer from inferior status and that they have to defend their biological and social entity and their emotional independence. A woman is required to impose herself socially and economically, to stand on an equal footing with man, and to overcome all elements of frustration that force her into a citizenship level lower than that of man's. Even though visits to tombs of holy men seem to be voluntary, there is behind them a complete fabric of coercions that force women gradually to seek these places. In many of these tombs, supplications are made with freedom-usurping instruments that are used as treatment mechanisms, such as wearing chains and confinement in dark vaults. If we proceed on this numerical basis, i.e. that more women than men are exposed to these psychological problems and, consequently, more likely to go visit these tombs, then women are more exposed to the treatment mechanisms that rely openly and in a well-known manner on violent methods that entail at times the flagrant usurpation of freedom. We can use as an example Bouia Omar which, in addition to being a tomb, is also a prison because it includes people whose hands and legs are chained and who live under conditions where freedom is usurped in an organized systematic method and with some sort of officially-sanctioned ideological legitimacy.

I can give other examples of these conventional detention institutions, such as the house in which married women who engaged in abnormal sex were confined. It is known as (Dar el Kaitoun), the magistrate's house, or the trust house. This institution was established in accordance with Article 59. Regarding the trust house, if a woman sues for divorce, if true obstacles arise in the face of coexistence under the same roof, and if the woman cannot agree to her husband's proposals regarding her place of residence while the lawsuit is under consideration or if the husband cannot accept her proposals for her place of residence during this transitional phase, the magistrate can, in accordance with the abovementioned article, decide to lodge the woman in this house.

Fortunately, the trust house disappeared nearly 20 to 25 years ago. Yet, we notice that this article has not been

amended legally. A woman was lodged in a trust house, and the husband undertook to pay her expenses during her stay. This house was nothing more than a prison in every sense of the word. Women living there were subjected to a strict discipline that restricted their movement and activity. Here, we come back to the economic and social given facts. If women enjoyed economic independence, they would be able to rid themselves, even if only partially, of the tyranny of such antifreedom arrangements. It is unreasonable that a society in which women work would agree legally to keep a woman in an institution when she hasn't committed a crime or to allow a woman to be confined to a certain house where the official authority assumes the task of guarding her body. Thus, even though the dispute between husband and wife could be, for example, over the contract that binds them, the woman involved in this dispute has no right to reside in a place other than this house. Thus, the man continues to exercise his custodianship, his power, and his authority. The trust house is a geographic extension of obedience and a place where the woman's body is guarded. This concept, i.e., the concept of guarding the woman's body, recurs in more than one situation. I will give just one example, namely the case when the husband is outside the country and when his wife engages in prostitution openly in the country. In this case, the public prosecution is entitled to initiate adultery proceedings against the wife, regardless of whether the husband likes it or not and keeping in mind that adultery is a crime that is only pursued at the request of the victimized husband or wife. But if the husband is outside the country and if the wife engages in prostitution in Morocco, then the prosecution is entitled to initiate proceedings against her without any restriction. Thus, the public prosecution gets to represent the husband in Morocco and authority over the woman is transferred from the husband when he leaves the country to the public prosecution, i.e., to the criminal justice agency, so the authority will watch and guard the wife's body in the absence of her husband. If the opposite were also true, one would not be surprised. If the legislator permitted a wife to watch her husband for the crime of adultery when she leaves Morocco and to see him prosecuted for this crime without her having to file a complaint, then this matter would be of no importance. But the fact that the husband enjoys this custodianship or guardianship reflects this tendency to guard the woman's body. This protection can be ensured by a man only: either the father before marriage or the husband or public authority after marriage.

The trust house has disappeared, of course, and it no longer exists because of certain considerations. At times, this institution defeated its own purpose because it became a means or a passage toward immoral practices and because conditions in such houses deteriorated to the point that the institution came to represent an inhuman detention facility engaging in destructive violence against woman's humanity.

We will move now to talk about women in Morocco's prisons and to try to find the reasons that send women to

jail. Does studying and determining the type and dimensions of women's presence in prison permit one to compare it with the criminal phenomenon in Morocco's generally?

To begin, we should say that women's presence in Moroccan prisons is very small when compared with the male presence. For example, more than 1,000 prisoners are found in some prisons whereas the number of female prisoners doesn't even reach 100. Women prisoners represent five or six percent of the prison population at times. The crimes for which Moroccan women are jailed are moral crimes or corruption [prostitution] crimes. In some cases, we find that 20 percent or 30 percent of the prisoners are jailed for prostitution or promoting prostitution, for adultery, and for similar moral crimes. Thus, we can say that moral crimes continue to be the main reason why women end up in jail. But we must keep in mind that this judgment is relative because we notice that there are other crimes that occupy an important place and that are close to moral crimes in terms of percentage. The crimes competing with moral crimes are of two kinds: Attacks on property, especially theft, and then fraud, personal attacks, especially assaulting and wounding, followed by premeditated murder. I am offering these preliminary conclusions while waiting, of course, for comprehensive studies on the conditions of Morocco's female prisoners so that our observation can be scientific and accurate. But according to some studies conducted on a number of prisons separately, we can conclude that these are the main crimes perpetrated by women, keeping in mind that theft is predominant in the tendency of the male criminal activity. Here, it becomes evident that there is a difference between the nature and dimensions of male crime and nature and dimensions of female crime. But we can say that most female prisoners are jailed for moral crimes, even though there are developments and changes that motivate women to take part in other illegal activities besides moral crimes.

It is said internationally that female crime represents 10 to 20 percent of crime generally and that it is distinguished by special characteristics, such as being secretive and confidential and secondary or auxiliary crime in which man is instigated or assisted morally, meaning that women are secondary actors in this crime. Female crime is also characterized by relying on some sort of subdued violence and by not reflecting violence clearly. According to studies and research, women's physiological and physical nature makes them inclined to commit violent crime quietly. This is evident in the tendency of women, especially in the countryside, to kill by poison even though this is the most dangerous kind of murder because it is committed when the victim is unaware and because there is no possibility of self-defense against it. This is why the legislator has assigned the death sentence to this crime. We also find that studies have concluded that female crime within certain bounds is disregarded at times, meaning that even though the criminal justice agencies are convinced that a woman is involved in a certain crime, they refrain from prosecuting the woman

if they prosecute the men involved and they consider this prosecution enough to establish a public deterrent without the need to prosecute the women who, along with the men involved, form a single unit involved in committing the criminal act. Perhaps this is because the public prosecution exercises its authority with the proper degree of consideration for the social circumstances involved.

For example, in the case of a husband and wife engaged in drug trafficking, the public prosecution prefers to prosecute the man and to disregard the woman so as not to undermine the rights of the guiltless children. So there are those who see that the judiciary agencies are more active in pursuing men and that they exercise caution, at times exaggerated, in pursuing women. Thus, what interests us in these concepts is that they provide us with an indication of the conclusions that we can make from the studies focused on female prisoners. We must not view these studies as enough to give us a comprehensive qualitative and quantitative idea of female crime. This is because a large part of this crime remains, according to theoreticians, hidden and unprosecuted. We notice that when women commit some crimes reflecting a violent nature, such as the murder of a partner, lover, or newborn, their objective is to hide scandal. This kind of criminal activity is tantamount to some sort of rebellion by women who feel that they are attacked. As for assaulting and wounding, such crime is committed by women in cases where collective disputes erupt between neighbors or in a public bath. Women, but not necessarily men, are stigmatized when they commit the crime of assault. In this crime, we find that the perpetrating woman is often tied to the victim by firm relations. As for crime among men, we notice that no such relations exist between the perpetrator and the victim. For example, we find in female crime that the victim is a relative, husband, neighbor, father, mother, and so forth.

The majority of women jailed in Moroccan prisons are less than 30 years old. This observation also applies to men. Most of these female prisoners are unemployed. The percentage of unemployed female prisoners is higher than the percentage of unemployed male prisoners. Ordinarily, female prisoners worked as seamstresses, domestics, and rug-plant workers before their imprisonment. The majority of them don't, however, have a vocation. It is well known that female prisoners do not wear a special uniform and do not do work in prison, even though some prisoners may be called upon to perform what is called punitive work, i.e., do some menial work, while in detention. This work is confined to cleaning and maintenance work. Thus, prison becomes some sort of domestic obligation and the obligations shouldered at home are transferred to jail.

We notice that the female prisoner is illiterate and unemployed. If married, her physical and intellectual effort has been focused on maintaining the home and keeping it in order. When in detention, her physical and intellectual effort is also focused on the same activities. This is what makes the female prisoner feel that she is a

servant in jail. The concept behind punitive work is to train the prisoner and make him eligible to merge in society in the future and to give him the qualifications that enable him to sever his relations with the crime world. But when Moroccan female prisoners are required to clean up their jail, they are made to feel even more insulted and humiliated—a feeling that has serious ramifications to their psyche and that makes it difficult to fuse them in society afterward and to root out their criminal tendencies. We also notice that not enough consideration is given to the conditions of menstruating women when it comes to health care arrangements in prison.

Reenactment of Funerals and Lamentation as Form of Recreation and Relief

Creativity in the prison environment reflects a model or an experience that is distinguished and branded with the prisoners' hardship and aspirations. This creativity reflects the frustrations caused by the prisoners' special situation behind bars. As in the case of men, female prisoners unite their efforts to form a consolidated group that cooperates in producing creative cultural work which is unique and independent and which represents the elements of a cultural plan opposed to the center. This culture is marginal and opposed to many of the standards and arrangements of social life outside the prison. The female prisoner raises her voice in song. Even though prison regulations forbid prisoners from singing or making noise, prisoners pass their time by resorting to group songs. Often, one prisoner sings verses from popular poems and the other prisoners repeat a refrain. The songs reflect the prisoners' hardship. Prison becomes the space and the occasion for all the hardship experienced by the woman to flicker atop this woman's cultural creation. The woman prisoner drags her hardship, whether hardship of the prison experience or past hardship prior to detention, with her and the prison experience becomes an occasion to expose the profounder and more human dimensions of this hardship. "Mother" is present in the prisoners' songs as an angel and as a human being who better understands the situation of the woman prisoner and who is more willing than men to forgive them for what they have done. Women prisoners are not content with song but engage in other group activities. They play games, and they practice tattooing, contrary to the belief that tattooing is for male prisoners only. This tattooing activity performs a dual role. To the tattooed, it is tantamount to some sort of documentation of the prison condition, always reminding the tattooed of this phase so the prisoner will learn the lesson and take the precautions not go back there. The tattoo is also a creative drawing that reflects a state of mind, a feeling, an aspiration, and so forth. But the female prisoners' cultural society is also distinguished by acting and by the fact that prisoners join together spontaneously to perform plays in prison. One of the more interesting and recurrent topics in the prisoners' plays is the reenactment of the trial scene and the distribution of roles in this performance. What is also

interesting is the female prisoners' reenactment of the funeral scene because this scene allows female prisoners to exercise their right to weep loudly. If man tries to overcome the hardship of the prison phase through laughter and aggression, women prefer to cry as a form of relaxation and relief from hardship. This is why a female prisoner volunteers to play the role of the deceased while the others play the role of relatives and mourners, and cry.

As it is a problem for male prisoners, sex is also a problem for female prisoners. But the female prisoners' feeling that they belong to a hostile society motivates them at times to practice sexual perversion with some sort of positivism so they can avenge themselves on the negativism that is imposed on them outside jail. This is why we find that sexual perversion is not practiced uniformly. One prisoner plays the role of the male and the other that of the female. But they may reverse roles. This is made clear by the nicknames and titles they give to some female prisoners' who are linked to manliness.

Among female prisoners generally, smoking is considered the visa for the conscience's true entry into the prison world. The female prisoner society isn't free of quarrels that emanate from the theft of some articles. Such quarrels lead to fights and disorder, and most female prisoners are taken to the prison director's office to be punished. Most often, such prisoners engage in fights said to cause disorder in jail. For men, the acts which the administration intervenes to suppress or which are considered to merit administrative or even judiciary prosecution are ordinarily acts connected with the crimes of assaulting, inflicting physical harm, fighting, and disorder. Moreover, drug use and sexual perversion are also recorded among male prisoners.

Generally, it can be concluded from a study conducted on prisons and prison statistics that female prisoners are less inclined to escape, rebel, be insubordinate, and so forth. The disputes are disputes among the prisoners themselves who don't rally easily to develop some sort of collective solidarity to oppose the existing administration's authority.

The teaching, education, and training programs channeled for women are feeble and crude, and much lesser than those designated for male prisoners. If the condition of male prisoners is poor in this regard, then the female prisoners' condition is much worse. Women prisoners get very meager and symbolic benefit from the guidance, enlightenment, and education programs. It can also be noted that the women's crew assigned to the prison administration and guard is very weak when compared with the crew at the men's prison. At times, we find that there is one guard for dozens of female prisoners who may number 100 to 200. This has negative consequences to the psyche of the female prisoner who has to live in prison under social conditions that are much worse than those under which men live for two reasons:

The first reason is that before entering jail, a woman prisoner is ordinarily tied to her home responsibilities and has stronger bonds with her family (her children, her relatives, and her mother). Prison requires her to sever such strong bonds and ties and this makes the prison experience a very hard experience which charges women prisoners with violence, especially if we underline and stress the woman's role in childcare. A woman prisoner takes her nursing infants along with her, of course, while her other children remain outside prison. Ordinarily, this prisoner experiences a very strong feeling of remoteness from her family, considering that she is the cornerstone of the family society and of the normal activity of this society.

The second reason is that society views women prisoners more seriously, harshly, and cruelly than it views male prisoners. There is no doubt that the prison stigma, whether for male or female prisoners, represents a fundamental obstacle impeding later social fusion, contact with people, and rehabilitation. But where women are concerned, this stigma is a very serious issue and the only way available to women prisoners is to revive the bond with the countersociety or the antisocial society, i.e., the other, marginal society and the prisoners who had been released earlier or ones who are waiting to be released so they can form a society in which a former convict might find relief. This society could cause released prisoners to return to jail as a criminal with a past record. It is also noticed where visits are concerned that a woman prisoner could be abandoned by her family, excluding the mother who maintains her contact with her jailed daughter. The mother has to do this at times by circumventing the father's authority or the authority of male relatives who consider a mere visit to prison tantamount to approval of what the daughter had done, especially if what she had done is connected with morals. Male prisoners believe that staying away from their imprisoned relative is tantamount to purging the family of the disgrace brought by the imprisoned daughter upon herself. In fact, women prisoners are not offered the conditions and requirements to be picked up and restored to society. On the other hand, we find in crimes of corruption and prostitution that prostitutes are careful to organize visits to their friends and colleagues. In this case, roles are exchanged. If the mother backs down, then the person who replaces her is the "hadjah" [madam] who is in charge of managing the whorehouse. Thus, prostitutes find other families with whom they make up for the need for the natural family extension that the female prisoner must have in order that she will not feel absolutely severed from society.

Status of Political Prisoners, Names Listed

92AF1220A Rabat AL-'ALAM in Arabic 3, 7, 11 Aug 92

[Article: "On First Anniversary of the Creation of the National Coordination Committee: Demanding the Release of All Political and Labor Union Detainees and Repatriation of Exiled; Who Is a Political Detainee?"]

[3 Aug 92 p 7]

[Text]

Definition of Political Detainee

Who is a political detainee? Does he have a definition in law and jurisprudence? If he has a legal presence, then what is the impact of this presence on incrimination, investigation, interrogation, punishment, and the execution of penalties?

These questions have been raised and will continue to be raised for debate and discussion and for conclusions to be made. Naturally, the political detainee interjects himself into the two aspects of the criminal arena: The objective aspect (the criminal code and its appendices) and the formal aspect (the penal code and whatever other special laws may be attached to it) because detention is supposed to be made only for the perpetration of an act prohibited by the law in force, regardless of whether the motives for the act are political or nonpolitical.

Some regimes avoid mentioning the political detainee in their criminal legislation, and others mention him in some provisions without citing a specific definition and without allowing any privilege in punishing him as a political detainee. These regimes are content to give the political detainee some consideration, but only within certain limits and for certain politically motivated acts, insofar as criminal procedures and execution of the decided penalty is concerned. Regimes that disregard the presence of what is called a political detainee are not content with this disregard but rather make the political motive for the perpetration of an act a reason to stiffen the minimum and maximum penalty for the act in their criminal laws. At times, they mandate the maximum limit of the penalty and prohibit magistrates from citing mitigating circumstances or using legal excuses for a certain act or acts.

The reason for the failure to include provisions on political detainees in some laws and, consequently, for allowing the political detainee some privileges in some laws and not in others, is due to the nature of the regime under which legislation is promulgated. Dictatorial regimes, whether they have no parliament or have a sham or rigged parliament that answers to the commands of rulers—who impose themselves on the people with iron and fire and who monopolize the executive, legislative, and judiciary authorities, do not recognize political detainees and stiffen, through provisions in criminal laws, the penalties for misdemeanors and crimes of a political nature. Regimes under which the people have established some sort of democracy with their struggle and sacrifices and that are distinguished by true representation of the people in the local, professional, and national institutions are inclined to acknowledge the presence of political detainees and make arrangements to grant such detainees some privileges in treatment, keeping in mind that these privileges differ in

quality and scope, depending on how advanced the democratic gains made under this type of regime are.

The importance of the privileges that could be given to the political detainee can be seen more in the individual dictatorial regimes that are often backward and subservient to the capitalist control centers than in the truly democratic regimes in which the people control their affairs at the various levels.

More often, political, economic, and social stability and public and private liberties prevail in the latter regimes. Under their umbrella, political, social, and labor union organizations find a broad domain in which to engage in free expression, criticism, opposition, and in all activities and movements dictated by the circumstance—activities that may rise at times to the level of demonstrations and strikes. Such a climate reduces the possibility of political oppression to a minimum and leads, consequently, to the absence of political detainees and political court trials. On the other hand, if political detainees are found in such democratic regimes, then this happens in special cases (demonstrations resulting in victims on both sides, i.e., demonstrators and police, or in arson). The legal respect, consideration, and guarantees that all detained citizens enjoy insofar as investigation, trial, and execution of penalty are concerned greatly reduce the significance of the privileges that could be given to political detainee. The inverse is true in the backward individual dictatorial regimes, where the struggle between the broad toiling masses, who are oppressed economically, socially, and politically, on the one hand, and the ruling class, on the other, is most intense because the simplest liberties and the smallest guarantees are absent for the ordinary detainee. Privileges that the political detainee can get in such regimes should be greater because a committed political detainee is the antithesis to these regimes and because he has the ideas to offer and has the ability to stir the masses.

This is why these regimes stiffen the penalty for and the treatment of political detainees. But such harsh treatment of political detainees in the individualistic regimes has generated strong reactions, whether among the detained politicians themselves (their demands for improved living conditions, for respectful treatment, and for promulgation of the political detainees law and, often, their backing their demands with hunger strikes) or among the domestic and foreign public opinion that demonstrates solidarity with the detainees. These struggle activities have produced more results at the pragmatic level than at the legislative level, forcing some oppressive regimes to improve, to a certain degree, the political detainees' conditions. However, most of these regimes continue to be determined not to allow any privileges for political detainees to be stipulated in the law. Those privileges passed by law have been permitted within the narrowest limits, especially privileges concerning the execution of penalties.

The motive for this determination is, in the opinion of these regimes, refusal to allow political opposition and

struggle to be a reason for any privileges upon detention so as not to encourage political struggle and opposition to continue. For these regimes, a political adversary is an enemy who must be destroyed physically if he cannot be destroyed politically, not be given privileges when in detention. This is unless the adversary is able to gain these privileges practically through struggle from within and from outside jail.

But the political detainee, regardless of whether he is recognized legally or not and regardless of whether he enjoys legal or practical privileges gained from the government, is present in real life, in society's life, and in the conscience and sympathy of domestic and foreign public opinion by virtue of the tendency to which he belongs and the ideas he represents and because of his steadfast positions, his ceaseless and constant struggle and sacrifices, and the broad solidarity he enjoys. This assures him of greater privileges, not just at the practical and legal levels (considering that the legislator intervenes constantly to codify a reality that has been imposed on him), but also in the triumph of the goals for which he struggles.

As a result of what we have just mentioned, most laws avoid providing any definition of the political crime on whose basis a detainee is considered a political detainee. Jurisprudence takes charge of defining political crime. There are two fundamental theories in this regard: A personal theory founded on the basis of the motive for perpetration of the crime and an objective theory that is based on the principle of an assaulted right (assault in the broad sense of the word). According to the personal theory, whenever the motive for the perpetration of a crime is political, the crime is a political crime, regardless of whether the party assaulted is a political regime, a public or private institution, a state official, a party, or an ordinary individual. According to the objective theory, a crime is not considered political unless the assault is aimed at the state, embodied in the ruling public authorities (Dr. Mahmud Najib Husni's book, 1957 edition, p 150. In this regard, there is also the definition for political crime provided in the political dictionary authored by Ahmad 'Atiyatallah, 1968 edition, p 384).

It is extremely important to make a distinction between political crime and ordinary crime. This importance surfaces at:

First, at the Judiciary Level

Even though the criminal legislator is not often concerned with the motive for the perpetration of a prohibited act when he sets the minimal and optimal penalty merited by this act, a truly independent, fully responsible, sensitive, and conscientious magistrate must inevitably be influenced by the motive for perpetration of the crime. Thus when determining a penalty, he makes a distinction between one who steals to get rich and one who steals because of need. He makes a distinction between a transgressor who assaults to satisfy a desire

and a transgressor who believes that what he has done serves a public interest. Consequently, the magistrate may stiffen the penalty or may reduce it to the minimum.

Second, Regarding the Right to Political Asylum

In accordance with international usage and with some international charters and constitutions, a political criminal may not be handed over to the government demanding his extradition.

Regarding Some Privileges Enjoyed by Political Detainee

It is not permissible to detain a political criminal accused of certain political misdemeanors (opinion and press crimes) or to subject him to the rules of physical torture during investigation, interrogation, and trial. A political criminal is also entitled to the privileges accorded a political detainee while serving his sentence.

Political Detainee in Moroccan Legislation

Moroccan law has no definition of a political detainee, and this law makes no distinction between politically motivated crimes and misdemeanors and those that are not politically motivated. However, the political detainee is mentioned in scattered provisions, and the legislature has established some small privileges on the strength of these provisions. But it seems that even a number of these privileges, some of which date back to the French colonial era, are diminished and reduced whenever the circumstances and conditions dictate it.

Right to Political Asylum

According to Article 5 of Decree 8/11/1958 concerning the extradition of foreign criminals to their governments, wanted individuals may not be extradited if the felony or misdemeanor is political in nature or if the evidence shows that the extradition is sought for a political purpose.

Regarding Criminal Rules

According to Article 76 of the decree issued on 10 February 1959 regulating the criminal code, no arrest may be made even if a person is caught redhanded in misdemeanors of a purely political nature. But the amendment made on 13 November 1963 omits this exception. According to Article 676 of the criminal code, no sentence may be issued and no demand may be made to apply physical coercion in cases involving political crimes.

Regarding Some Special Provisions

According to Article 19 of Decree 19/2/60 on practicing medicine, pharmacology, dentistry, apothecary, and midwifery, the courts, when deciding major penalties against the above-mentioned upon their commission of a felony or a misdemeanor, may impose additional penalties embodied in temporary detention or an absolute ban

on practicing the profession. Excluded from such penalties shall be people sentenced for a political felony or misdemeanor.

Regarding Jails

According to Decree 26/6/1930 concerning the management of prisons prepared for jailing people and in the law governing these jails, issued during the defunct protectorate era:

- "A special wing shall be set aside for political detainees. (Article 18)
- "Political detainees shall be exempted from wearing the uniform worn by ordinary prisoners. (Article 40)
- "Service shall be required of those convicted, excluding political detainees." (Article 45)

But in the independence era, Article 218 of the criminal law issued on 26 November 1962 states deliberately that felonies and misdemeanors punishable by Section 1, which governs felonies and misdemeanors against state security—crimes that are most often viewed as political crimes either by their nature or by their subject matter—shall be considered crimes similar to ordinary felonies and misdemeanors insofar as the execution of penalties is concerned, thus making it possible to say that the meager privileges stipulated in the prisons law were implicitly abolished in accordance with the aforementioned article (Article 218 of the criminal law).

In Moroccan law, political crimes and misdemeanors are, most often, crimes defined as crimes that undermine state security as stipulated in Articles 163-218 of the criminal law or as opinion crimes, i.e., misdemeanors that can result from exercising the public liberties stipulated in Law 15/11/1958 (foundation of associations and political parties, public gatherings, demonstrations in general ways, and the press law). But because the majority of the Moroccan judiciary see no legal barrier to stop them from applying Decree 29/6/1935 (which calls for preventing demonstrations that violate public order and preventing anything that may undermine the respect due the rulers), Decree 26/6/1939 (banning any papers that undermine public security and order), and Decree 27/6/1939 (detering those engaged in propaganda harmful to public security and order), it can be said generally that all acts to which the provisions of the said decrees apply are considered political misdemeanors.

The following is concluded from all of this:

Political detention exists in reality and legally in Morocco, contrary to official allegations.

Through criminal provisions, Moroccan legislators emphasize penalties applied to political felonies and misdemeanors and are inclined to stiffen them even further (the 10 April 1973 amendments connected with the public liberties laws).

The Moroccan judiciary, who are subjected to material and moral pressure, both in form and content, by the

government whenever a political trial arises, find themselves in a dilemma when acquitting or mitigating sentences against those pursued for political crimes and misdemeanors. Very often, this dilemma motivates the judiciary to impose the maximum penalty.

The few legal privileges given the political detainee within narrow limits have been diminished legally, and others will be diminished when the opportunity arises.

Practically, political crimes motivate the government to surpass the limits of application set by the law in force—a law that does not provide reasonable guarantees. Where political crimes are involved, all kinds of torture, even torture to death, and falsification are committed. Under the umbrella of political crimes, people were kidnapped and kept in secret places for months and years before being released, referred to the courts, or disappearing without any trace. Under the canopy of political crimes, harsh court sentences have been issued. Because the crime is political, those arrested have been kept in detention camps, not jails. Some penalties were executed in secret detention camps, not in jails. Some convicts have not been released even though they have served their term.

But the constant and ceaseless struggle of Moroccan political detainees to achieve a political detention law and to improve their conditions, and the broad solidarity their struggle enjoys at home and abroad, has accomplished some practical gains, though narrow and limited, for them. However, the path is still open for accomplishing more gains and for codifying these gains through struggle and solidarity.

[signed] The Secretariat

To End Dossier of Detention, Banishment, and Kidnaping

A year ago to the day, on 3 August 1991 precisely, the National Coordination Committee was formed to demand the release of all political and unionist detainees and the repatriation of exiles. It was formed with the participation of a number of political, unionist, legal, cultural, national press, and cultural organizations that are united by one concern and one goal: releasing all political and unionist detainees, repatriating exiles, disclosing the fate of the kidnapped, and closing this black file for good.

Within the context of this common struggle concern, the committee has worked throughout the year since its birth to contribute every effort to the struggle for a Morocco without unionist or political detainees, without exiles, and without kidnappees—a Morocco in which man's material and moral rights, especially his right to free expression, are safeguarded.

But inasmuch as the past year of the committee's life has witnessed an increased awareness of the rights and of the struggle to close the file of political detention, whether nationally or internationally, where the tendency is

toward greater consolidation and protection of human rights, so much did our country's rulers persist in opposing this current and intensifying confiscation of the simplest rights. This is something that has been especially embodied this year in continued arrests for political or unionist reasons and in the rigged trial of numerous citizens, strugglers, unionists, and politicians. We will note here the rigged trials, which affected dozens of students from Fez and Oujda Universities at the beginning of the academic [year]; dozens of other students in other Moroccan cities; three officials of the regional bureau of the movement of the unemployed in Beni Mellal and Azilal; and the detention and trial of Noubir Amaoui and Idris Ghunaymi, two unionist and political strugglers. All these have been added to hundreds of detainees incarcerated behind bars in the country's various jails and they face the same fate as the kidnapped and the exiled.

This is a harvest that demonstrates the serious level to which human rights have descended in our country. This harvest belies strongly all the allegations and slogans disseminated by the official trumpets about the state of right, law, and democracy. It is a harvest that goes beyond being just mere figures to expose the vast distance separating official rhetoric from the actual reality. It is a harvest that confirms that we have to travel a long way before we establish a democratic society whose first

essential threshold is release of all unionist and political detainees, repatriation of all exiles, and disclosure of the fate of the kidnapped.

Perhaps it is nothing new to say that accomplishing this national, democratic, and popular demand is the first step toward overcoming the "abnormal" position that Morocco represents in today's world and to catch up with the bandwagon of general cultural and human development whose main bannerline is respect for human rights.

While observing its first anniversary today, the committee reaffirms its resolve to carry on with the struggle until the last political detainee is released, the last expatriate is repatriated, and this file is closed forever. On the occasion, the committee urges all national and democratic committees with their various tendencies and interest to intensify their efforts in order to accomplish this common national, humanitarian, and democratic goal: a Morocco without detained, exiled, or kidnapped individuals.

[signed]The Secretariat

[7 Aug p 9]

List of Political Detainees

[Text]

Name	Marital Status	Profession	Year of Birth	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Idris Ghunaymi	Married; four children	Provincial secretary of General Workers Federation, member of Istiqlal Party	1928	April 1992	Lower Court, Sidi Slimane	Five years and 1,000-dirham fine	Civilian, Kenitra	
Noubir Mohamed Amaoui	Married; four children	Education inspector, provincial secretary of Democratic Labor Confederation, Socialist Union member		April 1992	Lower Court, Rabat	Two years	Prison Complex, Sale	
Naima Boukhatri	Single	1964	Student	1984		10 Years	Civilian, Nador*	
Fatima Ghassani	Single	1961	Student	1984		10 Years	Civilian, Nador*	

* Nador Civilian Prison: Two female political detainees arrested in wake of January 1984 uprising.

Student Political Prisoners in Safi

Name	Marital Status	Year of Birth	Occupation	Date of Arrest	Date of Sentence	Sentence	Observations
Miloud Faisal				12 March 1992	Two-and-a-half years		
Youssef Hamiri				12 March 1992	Two-and-a-half years		
Moubarak Qaqah				12 March 1992	Two-and-a-half years		

Student Political Prisoners in Safi (Continued)

Mohamed Gueridou				12 March 1992	Two-and-a-half years		
Rashid Novemsa				12 March 1992	Two-and-a-half years		
Abdelkadir Belkalil				12 March 1992	Two-and-a-half years		
Azzedine Keichou	Single	1955	Assistant engineer	20 June 1981		12 years	This list was compiled 30 September 1991
Abdallah Meftah	Single	1956		20 June 1981		15 years	
Said Mesrour	Single	1960	Carpenter	20 June 1981		20 years	
Jamal Hachad	Single	1961	Worker	20 June 1981		20 years	
Abdelatif Meftah	Single	1961	Worker	20 June 1981		15 years	
Ibrahim Bel-moudden	Single	1960	Shoemaker	20 June 1981		12 years	
Abdeljalil Lambady	Single	1957	Mechanic	20 June 1981		12 years	
Jamal Daraz	Single	1957	Worker	20 June 1981		12 years	
Azzedine Lafaky	Single	1962	Merchant	20 June 1981		15 years	
Rachid Belkarn	Single	1961	Worker	20 June 1981		15 years	
Mohamed Boussif	Single			20 June 1981		20 years	
Lhassen Baba Ali	Single			20 June 1981		12 years	
Jamal LKoueiss	Single	1958		20 June 1981		15 years	
Mohamed Serraj	Single	1957		20 June 1981		15 years	

Remainder of 1984 Marrakech Group (Detainees From National Federation of Moroccan Students)

Name	Year of Birth	Marital Status	Profession	Arrest Date	Number and Current Place of Detention	Sentence	Observations
Younesi Mohamed	1954	Single	Attorney	January 1984	45183, Marrakech Prison	15 Years	
Haji Othman	1958	Single	Student	January 1984	45185, Marrakech Prison	12 Years	
Said Kineish	1957	Single	Student	January 1984	Marrakech Prison	12 Years	
Habib Kaddour	1958	Single	Student	January 1984	Safi Prison	12 Years	Still suffering from psychological effects of 62-day hunger strike he Staged in summer of 1984

Remainder of 1984 Marrakech Group (Detainees From National Federation of Moroccan Students) (Continued)

Name	Year of Birth	Marital Status	Profession	Arrest Date	Number and Current Place of Detention	Sentence	Observations
Abderrahim Saef	1959	Single	Student	January 1984	Safi Prison	10 Years	Still suffering from psychological effects of 62-Day hunger strike he staged in summer of 1984
Mustapha Hamedi	1959	Single	Student	January 1984	45203, Marrakech Prison	10 Years	
Latrouz Abdelatif	1959	Single	Student	January 1984	54207, Marrakech Prison	10 Years	
Hosein Alouani	1958	Single	Student	January 1984	45193, Marrakech Prison	10 Years	
Abdallah Lamrani	1963	Single	Student	April 1984	22661, Central Prison, Kenitra	Eight Years	Completed his term in April 1992

Name	Marital Status	Year of Birth	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Dosaoui Abderrahmane	Single		Third-year economics student		Marrakech Lower Court, sentenced 9 December 1991	Five Years	Marrakech	Court Case Involving Masaoui and His Companions, Marrakech Lower Court Decision, 9 December 1991
Abbar Abdelmoula	Single		Second-year student at language school		Marrakech Lower Court, sentenced 9 December 1991	Five Years	Marrakech	
Khaddouch Hassan	Single		Fourth-year student at School of Arts		Marrakech Lower Court, sentenced 9 December 1991	Five Years	Marrakech	
Fadeli Abdelhaq	Single		First-year economics student		Marrakech Lower Court, sentenced 9 December 1991	Five Years	Marrakech	
Abdenmour Mohamed			Second-year physics student		Marrakech Lower Court, sentenced 9 December 1991	Five Years	Marrakech	
Ouhelal Idris	Single	1967	Student	12 March 1991	Marrakech Lower Court	Two Years	Marrakech	
Masaoui Imbarak	Single	1967	Student	November 1991	Marrakech Lower Court	Five Years	Marrakech	
Imkhaibsha Nouredine	Single	1968	Student	November 1991	Marrakech Lower Court	Two Years	Marrakech	

Name	Marital Status	Year of Birth	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Ennidam Abdelhakim	Single	1968	Student	November 1991	Marrakech Lower Court	Two Years	Marrakech	
Latrouz Youssef	Single		Student	1 May 1992	Marrakech Lower Court	Five Years	Marrakech	
Zammouri Abderrahim	Single		Student	1 May 1992	Marrakech Lower Court	Five Years	Marrakech	
Leaoui Mohamed	Single	1971	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Bohadi Mohamed	Single	1970	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Ghozali Mohamed	Single	1968	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Abdalaoui Yehya	Single	1968	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Hoseini Mustapha	Single	1968	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Zeqaqi Belkacem	Single	1966	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
El Taj Ahmed	Single	1969	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
El Taj Noureddine	Single	1965	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Hadaoui Ali	Single	1967	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Zaoui Mohamed	Single	1968	Student	1 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	
Balkhedir Motaouakel	Single	1966	Student	10 November 1991, Oujda		20 Years	Kenitra Central Prison	

List of Political Detainees

Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Detention	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Bouiadi Abdeljalil			Worker	1984		12 Years	Civilian prison in Taza	Part of group involved in 1984 incidents
Irab Mohamed			Unemployed	1984		10 Years		
Idhar Mohamed Marzouk			Merchant	1984		10 Years		This list was compiled 9 September 1991
Abadi Abed-louafi			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Alili Hassan			Machinist	1984		10 Years		
Ourd Mohamed			Employee	1984		10 Years		
Abderrahmane Belarabi			Roving Vendor	1984		10 Years		
Belarabi Benyoucef			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Benaissa Balfiran			Unemployed	1984		10 Years		

List of Political Detainees (Continued)

Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Detention	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Mohamed Barihal			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Bilal Bouiadi			Unemployed	1984		10 Years		
Jilali Boukorba			Machinist	1984		10 Years		
Maimoun Bounnikab			Merchant	1984		10 Years		
Hassan Bounouar			Roving Vendor	1984		10 Years		
Abdelaziz Chamlal			Student	1984		10 Years		
Derraz Mohamed			Merchant	1984		10 Years		
Abdelsadek Gharbaoui			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Idris Mousati			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Mohamed Rachedi			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Mohamed Sahbi			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Farfash Abdessalam			Roving Vendor	1984		10 Years	Civilian prison in Taza	Part of group involved in 1984 incidents
Felouati Yehya			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Karimati Hassan			Laborer	1984		10 Years		This list was compiled on 27 September 1991
Lameimich Mohamed			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Lamrini Echchaieb			Student	1984		10 Years		
Ouakili Hosein			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Mouazz Ahmed			Student	1984		10 Years		
Nakadi Mailoud			Roving Vendor	1984		10 Years		
Oubali Said			Unemployed	1984		10 Years		
Oukayel Tohami			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Yanbou el Hadi			Student	1984		10 Years		
Kouchi Mohamed			Laborer	1984		8 years		Completed sentence in January 1992

List of Political Detainees (Continued)

Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Detention	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Essaei Abderrahim			Laborer	1984		8 years		
Zaed Abdelkadir			Laborer	1984		8 years		
Essahi Mohamed			Laborer	1984		10 Years		
Radouan Ahmed	Married; one child	33	Teacher	28 January 1984	Criminal Court, Nador, 11 May 1984	12 years	Civilian prison, Ain Bourja	Currently at Kenitra Central Prison for treatment

Political Detainees: Group 26

Name	Year of Birth	Profession	Marital Status	Detention Date	Number and Current Place of Detention	Sentence Duration	Observations
Balkohl Hassan	1957	Technician	Married; one child	1 November 1985	21836, Kenitra Central Prison	20 Years	
Ibrahim Mustapha	1953	Engineer	Married	25 October 1985	59222, Akacha, el Baida	20 Years	
El Chafchaoui Abdessalam	1953	Employee	Married	24 October 1985	59220, Akacha, el Baida	20 Years	
Boukaili Mohamed	1956	Teacher	Married	2 November 1985	59236, Akacha, el Baida	15 Years	
Aiet Belid Ibrahim	1957	Engineer	Single	27 October 1985	59226, Akacha, el Baida	15 Years	
Benmasoud Ahmed	1954	Teacher	Single	2 November 1985	59219, Akacha, el Baida	15 Years	
Ettabl Said	1955	Employee	Married; one child	26 October 1985	21649, Kenitra Central Prison	12 Years	
Nasreddine Mohamed	1955	Engineer	Married	29 October 1985	21650, Kenitra Central Prison	12 Years	
Mosaddeq Abdelhaq	1958	Laborer	Single	2 November 1985	Kenitra Central Prison	12 Years	
Essaeb Hassan	1959	Green Grocer	Married	23 January 1985	52399, Akacha, el Baida	10 Years	
Chabari Abdelmoumin	1959	Student	Married	25 June 1985	56851, Akacha, el Baida	10 Years	
Hasabi Abdallah	1958	Teacher	Single	2 November 1985	59239, Akacha, el Baida	10 Years	

Kidnapped Nonmilitary Individuals

Family and Personal Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Detention	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Ouhdo Mouha				March 1973				
El Louzi Baso				March 1973				
Oufdil Hadou				March 1973				
Armou Afroukh Mouha				March 1973				
Koseisir Amir Abderrahmane	Married; four children	1928	Government employee		Acquitted			
Salehi Madani				1989				
Benbaz Mohamed		1972	Student	19 January 1991				
Bouattar Mohamed			Gendarme	13 July 1983				
Rouisi Abdelhaq	Single		Unionist	1964				
Mohamed Abdelkadir	Single	1952	Student	28 November 1977				
Bouanan Wahib Hayyani	Single	1956		14 January 1979, Rabat				
Mohamed Jer-rari	Single			14 January 1979, Rabat				
Mohamed Hamimi (el Tounesi)	Single			14 January 1979, Rabat				
Hosein el Manouzi		1943	Machinist, Unionist	1972				
Ouazzan Belkacem Ben Mohamed	Married, 10 Children	1924	Government employee	30 August 1972				
Abouzikri Ahmed el Abdi				March 1973				
Aiet Ouhman				March 1973				
El Haouis Mouha				March 1973				
Zaied Abboud Baso				March 1973				
Mouha Ouharfou Fatima				March 1973				
Abdallah Salouk				March 1973, 1981				Kidnapped from Ain El Sabi, Casablanca
Tati Boulahia								
El Souari Saleh								

Kidnapped Nonmilitary Individuals

Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Place and Date of Kidnapping	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Ibrahim Lachkar				1974				
Mohamed el Safini				1974				
El Masaadi Essaleh				June 1974				

Tangier Civilian Prison Political Detainees: Temansente Group, Al Hoceima Province (Detainees From January 1984 Uprising)

Name	Year of Birth	Marital Status	Profession	Date of Arrest	Sentence	Observations
Boukreiri M'hamed	1950	Single	Dyer	16 January 1984	20 years	Moved from Kenitra Central Prison to Tangier Prison
Benazzouz Abdelatif	1965	Single	Merchant	15 January 1984	15 years	
Cherif Abdelkhaleq	1960	Single	Unemployed	15 January 1984	15 years	
Benamr Najeh	1963	Single	Laborer	15 January 1984	15 years	
El Kadi Rachid	1961	Single	Laborer	16 January 1984	15 years	
Cherkaoui Mohamed	1966	Single	Farmer	14 January 1984	15 years	

Name	Marital Status	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Age	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Boudaoui Khalid	Married	Student		1962		20 years	Tangier Civilian Prison	This list was compiled on 30 September 1991; detainees arrested in wake of 1984 incidents
El Khatib Mohsen	Single	Teacher		1958		20 years	Tangier Civilian Prison	
Zaiouzaoui Mohamed	Single	Student		1959		20 years	Tangier Civilian Prison	
Bouzineb Mustapha	Single	Laborer		1959	El Baida Criminal Court, 28 December 1987	12 Years		
Lanbazouri Mohamed Lamine	Single	Student		1964	El Baida Criminal Court, 28 December 1987	10 years		This list was revised on 15 June 1992

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[Text]

List of Political Detainees in Morocco

Name	Marital Status	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Year of Birth	Observations
M'haih Mohamed Abdessalam		Fishmonger	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1960	Arrested in 1984 Incidents List Prepared on 7 October 1991 [as published]
Belhadj Lamine		Nurse's Aide	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1966	
Belhadj Mohamed		Merchant	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1959	
Shiheibi Abdeljalil		Roving Vendor	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1969	
Rahhali Abdelatif		Sponge Diver	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1961	
Assidan Mohamed		Merchant	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1960	
Johari Ahmed		Merchant	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1960	
Korroni Farid		Laborer	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1966	
Filali Hassan		Electrician	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1961	
Arishi Abdeljalil					20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison		
Hari Abdelouahed		Plumber			20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1959	
Barho Abdelkadir		Tanner	1984		20 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1961	
Daidoush Ahmed Mohamed el Hassani		Roving Vendor			10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1962	
Zenaki Ahmed					10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison		
Achhoud Said Mustapha		Craftsman	1984		10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1959	
Chetouani Mohamed Mobarak		Laborer	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1963	Arrested in 1984 Tetouan Incidents

List of Political Detainees in Morocco (Continued)

Name	Marital Status	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Year of Birth	Observations
Ouafahna Ibrahim		Laborer	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	10 Years	1963
El Fardi Mohamed		Merchant	22 June 1984	1984	12 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1948	
Ouanhana Hassan		1984	12 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison				
Ouanhana Abdallah		1984	12 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison				
Ihnain Abdelkhaleq		Electrician	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1966	
Oulad Said Mustapha		Merchant	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1959	
Hosnaoui Boukora Ahmed		Roving Vendor	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1965	
Teghzouni Jamal Hosein		Unemployed	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1963	
Zammouri Taieb		Laborer	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1962	
Ouattahi Hassan		Laborer	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1960	
Hamman el Mokhtar		Laborer	22 June 1984	1984	10 Years	Tangier Civilian Prison	1962	

First Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Fasseh Abdelali Ben Boucheta				14 January 1990, Fez	Fez Criminal Court	10 Years	Fez Civilian Prison	This List Was Compiled on 21 July 1992
Masrouf Mustapha Ben Bonasir					Sentenced on 22 January 1992	5 Years		
Ouanani Khaled Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Eddaif Hassan Benmassoud						3 Years		
El Ourtamani Mohamed Bensaid						2 Years		
Slimani Hafeed Ben Hosein				14 January 1990	Fez Criminal Court, Sentenced on 15 January 1991	10 Years	Fez Civilian Prison	Part of Group of 29 Detainees
Aiboudi Mohamed Ben Abdelkarim						10 Years		

First Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Mostagim Mohamed Ben Ahmed						10 Years		
Morabet Ben Abdelkarim Ben Mohamed						10 Years		
Habib Abdallah Ennasiri Ben Madani						10 Years		
Moufid Mustapha Ben Mohamed						10 Years		
Mosafer Ben Abdelali Ben el Jilali						10 Years		
Habib Rachid Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Aiet Maimoun Ben Hosein						5 Years		
Khideoui Mohamed Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Boutaher Mohamed Ben Ahmed						5 Years		
Manar Idriss Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Ibn Dahhaj Ben-abdelaziz						5 Years		
Ouahbi Mohamed Ben Mohamed						3 Years		
Hosein Ahmed Ben Mohamed						3 Years		
Chebani Khaled Ben Driss						3 Years		
Saber Mohamed Akkar						3 Years and a Fine		
Matatesh Hassan Ben Ahmed						3 Years and a Fine		
Fadel Abdallah Ben Driss						2 Years and a Fine		
Aiet Mouadden Mohamed Ben Said						2 Years and a Fine		
Chateba Mohamed Ben Mohamed						2 Years and a Fine		
Bakarran Hassan Driss						2 Years and a Fine		
Charki Mohamed Ben Mohamed						2 Years and a Fine		
Bourkak Said Ben Mohamed				14 January 1990, Fez	Fez Criminal Court, Sentenced on 5 January 1991	2 Years	Fez Civilian Prison	This List Was Completed on 21 July 1992
Rachchach Yousef Ben Mohamed						2 Years		

First Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Gharib Monir Ben Hosein						2 Years		
Maaouia Abdelhaq Ben Aiachi						2 Years		
Kacemi Ahmed Ben Allal						2 Years		
Ben Touhami Moulay Zahi						2 Years		
Ouakili Hassan Ben Mohamed				14 January 1990, Fez	Fez Criminal Court, 9 January 1991	15 Years	Fez Civilian Prison	
Hayani Driss Ben Allal						12 Years		
Lazizi Abbad Ben Ali						12 Years		
Talaoui Mohamed Hasban						10 Years		
Barrou Driss Ben Abdelkader						10 Years		
Zayer Mohamed Ben Mohamed						10 Years		
Ibn Hachemi Abdelaziz Ben Mohamed						6 Years		
Essemlali Mohamed Ben Abdelmalek						6 Years		
Oulad Agdira Said Ben Bouchetta						5 Years		
Salmou Mohamed Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Ouafi Abdessalam Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Ezzarhouni Hassan Ben Ahmed						5 Years		
Essamni Mohamed Ben Bouchetta						5 Years		
Karim Mohamed Ben Driss						5 Years		
Fatemi Ismail Ben Omar						5 Years		
Bakkali Driss Ben Mohamed						3 Years		
Ghala Abdelouahab Ben Touhami						3 Years		
Mouadden Abdelalah Ben Abdelali						2 Years		
Hadjaj Aziz Ben Mehdi						2 Years		

First Name	Marital Status	Age	Profession	Date and Place of Arrest	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Elbahr Abdelmajid Ben Mohamed						2 Years		This List Was Completed on 21 July 1992
Bounao Abdelouahed Ben Hamida				14 January 1990, Fez	Fez Criminal Court, Sentenced on 14 January 1991	15 Years	Fez Civilian Prison	
Moharrar Abdelhaq Ben Mohamed						15 Years		
Moqaddem Mohamed Ben Mouha						15 Years		
Moumin Abdelkarim Ben Belid						12 Years		
Khedir Said Ben Bouallam						12 Years		
Kali Aziz Ben Driss						10 Years		
Hosnaoui Mohamed Ben Belid						10 Years		
Mallouli Abdelali Ali						10 Years		
Moti Hamid Ben Houari						7 Years		
Ezzaz Mohamed Ben Khelafa						5 Years		
Ouakili Aziz Ben el Yazed						5 Years		
Boulmellah Mohamed Ben Ahmed						5 Years		
Asil Aziz Ben Ahmed						5 Years		
Taousi Mustapha Ben Driss						5 Years		
Yemeni Driss Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
[First name illegible] el Hakim Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Halimi Mohamed Ben Mohamed						5 Years		
Chacuni Omar Ben Abdessalam						3 Years		
Bahou Samir Ben Abdessalam						3 Years		
Hilal Noureddine Abdelkadir						3 Years		
El Oudghairi Mehdi Ben Mohamed						3 Years		
Rachad Nouredine						2 Years		

Kenitra Civilian Prison
Political Detainees Pursued for Participation in 14 January 1990 Uprising
Strugglers of National Federation of Moroccan Students

Name	Educational Level	Marital Status	Unionist Duty	Detention Date	Detention Number	Sentence Duration	Observations
Rayyani Mustapha	Senior, French literature	Single	Member of Dialogue Committee and Boarding Students Committee	6 November 1991	27582	One-year prison term	
Sallaoui Mustapha	Sophomore, Biology	Single	Member of Boarding Students Committee	6 November 1991	27584	One-year prison term	
Ourho Khaled	Junior, History	Single	School of Arts Dialogue Committee member, Boarding Students Committee member	6 November 1991	27593	One-year prison term	
Chbeiki Said	Sophomore, Biology	Single		November 1991	27317	One-year prison term	

Other Political Detainees at Kenitra Central Prison

Family and First Name	Birth Date	Marital Status	Profession	Detention Date	Detention Number	Sentence Duration	Observations
Kheyari Ahmed	1940	Widower, 5 children	Farmer	8 July 1972	18024	30 years	Sentence mitigated from death to 30 years in jail
Erraes Ahmed	1937	Married, 6 children	Trainer	11 July 1971	18061	30 years	Arrested in wake of Skhirat incidents, sentence reduced from death to house arrest
Ghani Achour	1933	Married, 5 children	Sergeant Major	11 July 1971	18044	30 years	Arrested in wake of Skhirat incidents, sentence reduced from life term to 30 years
Radouan Ahmad	1955	Married, one child		28 January 1984	21655	12 years	Arrested in Nador in wake of January 1984 uprising

Military Detainees Kidnapped From Central Prison on 7 August 1973, Fate Still Unknown

Name	Marital Status	Year of Birth	Profession	Detention Date and Place	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Chellat Mohamed	Married, 2 children	1938	Military	Fate unknown since 7 August 1973	Kenitra Military Court	Life Term	Unknown. These detainees total 33, of whom 30 may have died; three of them, namely Chellat Mohamed, Mohamed Ababou, and Mozeirik Ahmed, are still alive.	
Mohamed Ababou	Married, 4 children	1934	Military			20 Years		
Mozeirik Ahmed	Married, 3 children	1927	Military			12 Years		
Harrouch Aga	Married, 10 children	1910				Life Sentence		
Haifi Abdessalam	Single	1946				20 years		
Bokeidi Mahjoub	Single	1948				20 years		

Military Detainees Kidnapped From Central Prison on 7 August 1973, Fate Still Unknown (Continued)

Name	Marital Status	Year of Birth	Profession	Detention Date and Place	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Ghalou Mohamed	Single	1942				15 years		
Lakouri Mahmoud	Single	1945				12 years		
Bandouro Hamid	Married, 2 children	1936				10 years		
Amarouch Kouin	Married, 6 children	1936				10 years		
Tijani Bora-douan	Single	1941				5 years		
Zandour Jouma	Single	1946				5 years		
Lodeik Jilali	Married, 5 children	1938				5 years		
Boulmagoul Ahmed		1940				5 years		
Ababou Abdelaziz	Married, 2 children	1943	Military			5 years		
Abdelsadek Mohamed	Married	1934				5 years		
Bouto Mouha	Single	1948				3 years		
Mahaj Allal	Married, 2 children	1940				20 years		
Abounasa Touhami	Single	1949				5 Years		
Lamine Rachid	Married, 3 children	1943		5 years				
Chojai Mohamed	Single	1950				3 years		
Bahbah Driss	Single	1951				3 years		
Kennat Mohamed	Married	1947				3 years		
Kasraoui Kacem	Single	1950				3 years		
Faraoui Abdallah	Single	1951				3 years		
Rabehi Abdessalam	Married	1943				3 years		
Baiti Mohamed	Single	1945				3 years		
Rachidi Benaissa	Single	1947				3 years		
Abedi Mohamed	Married, 1 child	1942				3 years		
Botaioui Rabeh	Married, 2 children	1942				3 years		
Fakouri Maimoun	Single	1951				3 years		
Heddan Bousonna	Single	1951				3 years		

Military Detainees Kidnapped From Central Prison on 7 August 1973, Fate Still Unknown (Continued)

Name	Marital Status	Year of Birth	Profession	Detention Date and Place	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Chamsi Mohamed	Married, 1 daughter	1946				3 years		
Laqid Sigilli				Kidnapped in 1958				
Abdelkadir Erraes				14 January 1990, Fez	Fez Criminal Court, sentenced 9 January 1991	10 years	Fez Civilian Prison	This list was completed on 21 July 1992
Mustapha Momghali						10 years		
Hamid Jehadi						10 years		
Mustapha Boteimi						10 years		
Ahmed Mofakker						10 years		
Hassan Bouracem						5 years		
Hassan Ben Hosein						5 years		
Khaled Zaiani						5 years		
Najmi Mohsen						5 years		
Jilali Faraj						5 years		
Abdelnabi Kaidani						5 years		
Omar Ouali						3 years		
Drissi Boutil						3 years		
Tohami Mouski						3 years		
Jamal el Massih						3 years		
Hassan Ben Latiq						3 years		
Ali Halim						3 years		
Driss Khallad						3 years		
Hassan Jamai						3 years		
Abdallah Ben Saleh						3 years		
Ahmed Chariti						3 years		
Omar Gadari						3 years		
Bouchetta Marzougi						3 years		
Abderrahim Chargaoui						2 years and a fine		

Military Detainees Kidnapped From Central Prison on 7 August 1973, Fate Still Unknown (Continued)

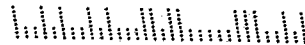
Name	Marital Status	Year of Birth	Profession	Detention Date and Place	Court	Penalty	Prison	Observations
Mohsen Salehi						2 years		This list was completed 21 July 1992
Hassan el Bounisi						2 years		
Mottaqi Abdelali Ben Mohamed				14 January 1990, Fez	Fez Criminal Court, sentenced 9 January 1991	3 years	Fez Civilian Prison	
Chehab Mohamed Ben Ahmed						3 years		
Aiad Ben-jouma Ben Abdallah						3 years		
Lattar Noureddine Ben Ali						12 years		
Kacemi Ahmed Ben Mohamed						3 years		
Lakbour Abdessalam Ben Mohamed						2 years		
Hakimi Khaled Ben Bouchatti						2 years		
Lamajni Abdelaziz Ben Abdallah						2 years		
Zaizoun Hassan Ben Driss						5 years		
Badr Hassan Ben Mohamed						5 years		
Essaheli Abdelkadir Ben Mehdi						5 years		

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